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CONTRIBUTORS' COLUMN FOR APRIL, 1946

¶ In this issue H. L. MENCKEN supplies some addenda to his discussion of the Great American Honorific in *Supplement One*, pp. 535-546.

¶ ROBERT SHAFER, whose specialty is Oriental research, has contributed 'The Pronunciation of Spanish Place Names in California,' in *American Speech* for December, 1942, and a number of shorter items. During the war, he was historian for the Pacific Overseas Air Technical Service Command, and author of about ten volumes on the history of the command.

¶ DWIGHT L. BOLINGER is already well known to our readers as the founder of 'Among the New Words' and author of several articles on English intonation. His last previous contribution was 'The Minimizing Downskip,' in our February, 1945, issue. He is Assistant Professor of Spanish at the University of Southern California.

¶ JESSE W. HARRIS is Associate Professor of English at Southern Illinois Normal University. He is the author of a book on John Bale, the sixteenth-century bishop and writer, and of a number of articles, chiefly in the field of folklore.

¶ GORDON W. HEWES's primary interests are in anthropology. Having studied Japanese at the University of California, he spent the war years in Washington working on Far Eastern materials. For a time he was employed by the U. S. Board on Geographical Names, whence his interest in Japanese versions of American place names.

¶ ALBERT H. MARCKWARDT, Professor of English in the University of Michigan, is the author of *Introduction to the English language* and of the *Scribner Handbook of English*. During the war he served as director of the English Language Institute in Mexico, and he has at various times been a visiting consultant at teachers' institutes in Colombia and Panama.

¶ C. K. THOMAS, of Cornell University, here presents another of his studies of regional distribution of pronunciations in America. Our readers will remember his 'Pronunciation in Upstate New York,' which appeared serially in *American Speech* from April, 1935, to April, 1937, and his 'Pronunciation in Downstate New York,' which appeared in our issues of February and October, 1942.

¶ CHARLES J. LOVELL's published writings have been mainly in the field of humor. As a member of the Alpine Club of Canada, the Club de Exploraciones de Mexico, and other organizations, he is active in mountaineering. At present he is in Canada, compiling a guide to the Canadian Rockies.

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AMERICAN SPEECH

VOLUME XXI

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BULLETIN ON 'HON.'

H. L. MENCKEN

Baltimore, Maryland

WHEN, in 1937, the Hon. Jerry Voorhis, a new congressman from California, instructed the reporters for the *Congressional Record* to cease and desist from describing him as *Hon.* in the Appendix thereof, they bucked with great stubbornness, and it was not until nearly three years later, on October 28, 1940, that he managed to exhort and threaten them into acquiescence. Why they bucked I do not know precisely, and the hon. gentleman tells me that he is somewhat uncertain himself, but I suspect that it was simply because Washington functionaries always fight to the death for any right or franchise, however irrational, that they have ever enjoyed. Once he had beaten them laboriously to their knees, Mr. Voorhis began hunting with fond hopes for recruits to his crusade, but during the years that have since rolled by he has roped only one, to wit, the Hon. Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan. It might be supposed that the lady members of the House—or, as its ground rules make them, the *gentlewomen*—would flock to Mr. Voorhis's flag, for *Hon.* in front of a female name still seems a bit incongruous to Americans, but not one of them has ever signed up. Indeed, all these stateswomen wallow and glory in the honorific, and sport it almost daily in the Appendix to the *Record*, notably the Hon. Clare Boothe Luce of Connecticut, the only congresswoman who may be described plausibly as both cerebral and beautiful, and the Hon. Mary T. Norton of New Jersey. La Norton, not contented with the frequent *Honing* she gets from the *Record's* reporters, once actually spoke of herself as 'I, Hon. Mary T. Norton' in a solemn House document.¹ The ex-*Hon.* Mr. Hoffman, it should be noted, is he, despite the fact that he and the Hon. Mrs. Luce bear the same given name.

It is hard to make out the rules whereby non-members quoted so

1. *Congressional Record*, May 6, 1938, p. 8467. All references hereafter, unless otherwise ascribed, will be to the *Record*. The presence of *A* before a page number indicates that the quotation is from the Appendix, a catchall in which members print extramural speeches by themselves and others, and a great assortment of other documents, including sentimental doggerel.

copiously in the Appendix to the *Record* rate or do not rate the *Hon.*, but it may be said in general that it is commonly given to former occupants of high office, to the head men of national organizations controlling substantial blocs of votes, to professional politicians of the higher chops, and to newspaper editors supposed to be influential in their dioceses. I offer some specimens from the year 1945:

J. H. Blundell, regional information executive, Office of Price Administration, Dallas, Tex., Jan. 10, p. A110

Bernard Baruch, Jan. 15, p. A147

William T. Evjue, editor and publisher, *Capital Times*, Madison, Wis., p. A162

Thurman Sensing, director of research, Southern States Industrial Council, Jan. 22, p. A226

Ben Dean of Grand Rapids, Mich., president, Kiwanis International, Jan. 30, p. A355

Jean A. Brunner, commander-in-chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Feb. 7, p. A526

R. A. Newton, president, Northern Federation of Chambers of Commerce, March 2, p. A1031, and April 23, p. A2037

Paul E. Fitzpatrick, 'New York Democratic State chairman,'² March 19, p. A1360

Edward A. O'Neal, president, American Farm Bureau Federation, March 24, p. A1572

Ellwood J. Turner, chairman, Interstate Commission on the Delaware River Basin, March 27, p. A1621

William S. Bennet, president, Empire State Society, Sons of the American Revolution, April 17, p. A1902, and June 19, p. A3155

W. D. Pauley, 'of Miami, Fla.,' April 19, p. A1960

W. Kingsland Macy, 'regent of the State of New York, former chairman of the New York State Republican Committee, and chairman of the Suffolk County Republican Committee,' April 25, p. A2068

K. E. Steinmetz, 'an able member of the Knoxville, Tenn., bar,' April 26, p. A2114

Oscar R. Ewing, vice-chairman, Democratic National Committee, May 7, p. A2276

R. B. Creager, 'a leading citizen of Texas and Republican National Committeeman from that State,' May 24, p. A2651

Vincent D. Nicholson, deputy administrator and associate solicitor, Rural Electrification Administration, May 25, p. A2689, and June 1, p. A2829

Maurice P. Davidson, 'one of the trustees of the Power Authority of the State of New York,' May 28, p. A2759

Earl Pruet, 'brilliant and eloquent young attorney of Oklahoma City,' June 12, p. A3056

William Randolph Hearst, 'noted publisher and an established friend of the veteran,' June 25, p. A3294

Blaine McLaughlin, commissioner of agriculture for West Virginia, June 28, p. A3371, and June 30, p. A3436

William V. Cowan, 'attorney of Renton, Wash.,' July 3, p. A3495

E. D. Lambright, editor, Tampa (Fla.) *Morning Tribune*, July 10, p. A3637

E. H. Thornton, 'vice-chairman and general manager of the Galveston Wharves,' Sept. 24, p. A4341

Harry B. Caldwell, 'master of the Grange of North Carolina,' Oct. 4, p. A4489

W. H. Holcombe, sheriff of Mobile county, Ala., Oct. 22, p. A4797

2. Quotation marks indicate that the description of the Hon. is supplied by his congressional sponsor.

Harry N. Hansen, of Toledo, O., 'veteran of World War I,' Oct. 31, p. A4956

B. Kirk Rankin, managing editor, *Southern Agriculturist*, Nov. 1, p. A4991

Zenas L. Potter, special assistant to the administrator, Office of Price Administration, Nov. 5, p. A5042

Tom Linder, commissioner of agriculture of Georgia, Nov. 6, p. A5087

Robert P. Skinner, former American minister to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, Nov. 13, p. A5183

Thomas E. Lyons, executive secretary, Foreign Trade Zones Board, Department of Commerce, Nov. 14, p. A5226

A. Pearley Feen, 'retiring president of the Vermont Bar Association,' Nov. 15, p. A5285

Here, among thirty-three names, are those of eight big shots of farmers', manufacturers', or veterans' organizations, four professional politicians of flag rank, four editors, six Class B bureaucrats likely to be useful to congressmen, four lawyers ready to be drafted for campaign service, one local sheriff, one lame-duck diplomat, and Barney Baruch. No name of a man generally recognized as learned appears on the list, nor does any name of a labor leader, movie actor or radio crooner. In the great days of the late Sam Gompers, LL.D., he often appeared in the Appendix to the *Record* as *Hon.*, but his heirs and assigns of today have gone below the salt, and even the Style Manual of the Department of State, which grants the honorific officially to a long list of very minor personages, denies it to the Gompersii of today, including William Green, Dr. Industrial Sc. (*honoris causa*), president of the American Federation of Labor. Nor do any of the dignitaries in the categories I have mentioned enjoy the honor with anything properly describable as security: only too many of them are here today and gone tomorrow. This is true, even, of such towering characters as the Hon. James A. Farley. He is in the Appendix to the *Record* very often, and usually he appears as *Hon.*, but more than once I have found him reduced to *Mr.*, and sometimes he gets down to plain James A. or Jim. The same thing is true of the Hon. Sumner Welles, former Under Secretary of State. While he was in office he was *Hon.* invariably and indubitably, but since he has lost his job he is commonly plain *Mr.*³ So with the Hon. Elmer Davis.⁴ Worse, there seems to be some irresolution, perhaps a product of the ex-Hon. Mr. Voorhis's crusade, about dignitaries still in being. Certainly, there is no man in semi-public life more likely to excite the fawning of congressmen than the national commander of the American Legion, yet I have seen the Hon. Edward M. Scheiberling's name in the Appendix as plain *Mr.*,⁵ though I should

3. Nov. 13, 1945, p. A5177.

4. July 9, 1945, p. A3601; July 17, p. A3751.

5. July 18, 1945, p. A3802; Nov. 1, p. A4980; Nov. 14, p. A5229.

add at once that I have also seen it given its natural and seemly handle, and in the same issue.⁶ Likewise, I have seen the *Hon.* withheld from such miscellaneous eminent men as the following:

Leon Henderson, Oct. 30, 1945, p. A4937

E. H. Crump, the distinguished Democratic boss of Memphis, Tenn., Sept. 24, 1945, p. A4309

Walter S. Carpenter, Jr., president of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Co., Sept. 24, 1945, p. A4319

Norman Thomas, five times candidate for the Presidency, July 9, 1945, p. A3588

Bruce Bliven, editor of the *New Republic*, July 9, 1945, p. A3591

Francis P. Matthews, supreme knight of the Knights of Columbus, Nov. 9, 1945, p. A5163

Sam H. Jones, former Governor of Louisiana, June 21, 1945, p. A3200

W. Stuart Symington, surplus property administrator, Nov. 9, 1945, p. A5164, and Nov. 20, p. A5364

Earle S. Draper, deputy commissioner of the Federal Housing Administration, Oct. 1, 1945, p. A4407

Leo F. Gentner, acting regional administrator of the Office of Price Administration, Oct. 31, 1945, p. A4961

A. Q. Miller, 'editor of the *Belleville Telescope*, who is well known in the West as one of the ablest editors in Kansas,' Nov. 15, 1945, p. A5256

Jesse M. Donaldson, First Assistant Postmaster General, Oct. 18, 1945, p. A4731

John E. O'Neill, chief of the Brewing Section of the War Food Administration, Oct. 4, 1945, p. A4491

Herbert Brownell, Jr., chairman of the Republican National Committee, Oct. 18, 1945, p. A4710

Harris J. Booras, supreme president of Ahepa, Nov. 1, 1945, p. A5008

But these, I suppose, are aberrations, and not to be stressed by the historian. The overwhelming majority of congressmen still seem to be tenacious of the *Hon.*, not only for men whose good will they crave, but also for themselves. When it appears over leave-to-prints in the Appendix it sometimes lifts the judicious eyebrow—for example, in the case of those inserted by Hon. C. W. (Runt) Bishop of Illinois, who insists on thus designating himself⁷—but the members are not ashamed to flaunt it, and the crusade against it by the ex-Hon. Mr. Voorhis excites only their derision. Ever and anon, in fact, they signify that derision by making him an *Hon.* against his will—as, for example, in May, 1944, when the committee in charge of a memorial service to martyred members so described him in its proceedings,⁸ and again in October, 1945, when he was

6. Nov. 14, 1945, p. A5222.

7. The hon. gentleman's actual given-names are Cecil William, but he insists on adding 'Runt' even to his autobiography in *Who's Who in America*. He is a tailor and cleaner by trade, but he has also served humanity as a coal miner, a telephone lineman, and a professional baseball player. He is a member of the Lions, the Elks, the Eagles, the Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias and the Woodmen of the World. His Kremlin is at Cartersville, Ill.

8. May 31, 1944, p. 5228.

restored to his rejected *Hon.* in the leave-to-print of a sportive colleague, the Hon. A. S. Mike Monroney, A.B., of Oklahoma.⁹

The congressmen are lavish in bestowing the *Hon.* on foreign dignitaries, and in the days when Winston Churchill was often in the *Record* he was given it almost invariably, though his actual title was not the *Hon.*, but the *Right Hon.* But American statesmen are not experts in protocol, despite the efforts of the Style Manual of the Department of State to school them. In April, 1945, for example, the Appendix described Lord Keynes, formerly John Maynard Keynes, as Lord John Maynard Keynes.¹⁰ There must have been some tittering that day behind the blinds of the British Embassy, but no member of either House ventured to protest, for this conversion of a newly-hatched baron into the younger son of a duke or marquis was quoted from a paper by John Francis Neylan, LL.D., a regent of the University of California and a celebrated San Francisco lawyer, and it had behind it the imprimatur of the late Senator Hiram W. Johnson, a candidate for the Vice-Presidency in 1912 and for the Presidency in 1924.

9. Oct. 17, 1945, p. A4703. This hon. gentleman was baptized Almer Stillwell Mike. A graduate of the University of Oklahoma and a Phi Beta Kappa, he began his career as a newspaper reporter, but quit journalism for the retail furniture business. He is a Rotarian.

10. April 4, 1945, p. A1767.

THE LANGUAGE OF WEST COAST CULINARY WORKERS

ROBERT SHAFER

Berkeley, California

IN RECENT years, there has been little opportunity for good eating in the overcrowded West Coast. One sits on a stool at the counter and is glad to get hamburger or hash. If a customer becomes disgusted with the service and leaves, the waitress is delighted. Ten chances to one, though, another customer will jump to get the place vacated.

It was under these conditions that one night the writer heard a waitress shout 'Apple a la down,' and a little later 'Can I get my draw a pair up?' During student days in Paris, I had become something of a gourmet, and in various parts of the United States had become familiar with most of the culinary terms generally used, including such linguistic distortions as 'mush potatoes' in a Greek restaurant and 'beef with rice Rositti' in an Italian restaurant run by a Russian. But I had never heard of 'Apple a la down' or seen a waitress concerned about getting her 'draw a pair up.' It was the first time I became conscious of the new culinary slang developing in the San Francisco Bay region.

My interest in culinary speech had a practical objective. It seemed probable that if a customer learned the language of waitresses, he might attract enough attention to be served before rigor mortis set in. A vain hope. And while I am not dead yet, I wish to pass on this bit of wisdom now, as I may be carried stiff from the table at any time—not from over-indulgence in eating or drinking but from plain starvation.

For I found that learning culinary slang is no help in getting service. The waitress does not understand you. You do not belong to her sorority. If you order a ground round steak, the waitress may call out 'steak.' But if you order a 'steak,' the waitress orders 'hamburger.' And if you order a 'hamburger,' you get a sandwich. The conventions are different for the customer and the restaurant worker.

Not so many years ago, there was a class of culinary workers on this coast who carried their slang with them like the old time loggers. But the cooks and 'hashslingers' of former years went off to war or to the shipyards. They have been replaced by transients, girls or women attracted by high wages or following their 'boy friends,' husbands or sons in the service. They come from Texas, Kansas, Pennsylvania and most other parts of this country except this immediate vicinity. In time, culinary slang from other parts of the United States may make its way into the vocabularies

of the restaurant workers here, but so far it has had no noticeable effect.

On the contrary, each restaurant tends to develop its own slang, and the personnel shifts so rapidly that the terms do not become part of the cook's or waitresses' daily life. If an employee goes to another restaurant, he adopts the slang used there. In a Berkeley restaurant, when you ordered what was advertised as a 'ground bonded steer beef steak,' the waitress called out '33.' But three miles away in an Oakland restaurant of the same chain, it was known as a 'steak.' The '33' arose because that was the number of cents it cost before the war, and the slang stuck when the price was 'upped' a nickel to 38 cents and then to 43 cents. But some time after the change in prices, the chain shifted personnel, and 'steak' came to be used in the Berkeley restaurant alongside of '33.' This is the only instance I have encountered of one restaurant borrowing another restaurant's slang, although such loans have probably occurred.

A great deal of the slang is merely the result of shortening a word. The result, however, is that what a waitress means by a term is altogether different from what it means in ordinary English. 'Van' is not something restaurants bring their supplies in, but simply vanilla. 'Chalk' is what the cheaper restaurants use to mark up their menu items on a blackboard, but in the better restaurants it is chocolate.

Association is everything in some of the abbreviated expressions. 'With' means 'with onions' if the word 'hamburger' precedes, but 'with cream and sugar' if 'coffee' precedes—provided the restaurant has any cream or sugar. 'One' in 'draw one' means one cup of coffee, but 'one up' is a 'hot dog' sandwich, while 'one with' is a hamburger sandwich with onions, and 'a hot one' is a hot snail. 'Apple a la' is apple pie with ice cream, but 'apple shake' is a pineapple milk shake.

A list of the current terms follows:

1. *A bowl*—soup.
2. *A dish*—a dish of ice cream on an a la carte order. Cf. no. 26.
3. *A hot one*—a hot snail; or, in one restaurant, a hot butterhorn, *q. v.*
4. *And*—and eggs (when following ham, bacon, or sausage; as, 'ham and'); but coffee and' or 'coffee with' means 'with cream and sugar.' In skidroad restaurants, 'coffee and' is still sometimes used for coffee and doughnuts, although this term is falling into disuse in that sense.
5. *An in*—ice cream soda (because ice cream is dropped in soda water).
6. *A pair*—two; follows instead of preceding the thing modified.
7. *A party*—four orders of the same thing.
8. *Apple a la*—apple pie a la mode.
9. *Apple shake*—pineapple milk shake.
10. *Arizona*—buttermilk (because a waitress thinks any man drinking buttermilk ought to be in Arizona for his health).
11. *A round one*—hamburger sandwich. A shortened form is 'A one.'
12. *A shot*—coca cola. From 'a shot in the arm' of drug addicts?
13. *A single*—one. Like 'a pair,' it does not precede but follows the name of the order.
14. *Baconburger*—hamburger and bacon sandwich.
15. *Bearclaw*—a sweet bread shaped some-

- thing like its name implies.
16. *Blind one*—one egg up, other over. Doubtful if native to this region.
 17. *B 'n' T*—bacon and tomato sandwich.
 18. *Burger*—hamburger sandwich. 'Burger steak' is hamburger steak.
 19. *Butterhorn*—thicker than a snail, *q. v.*; without raisins, but nuts over the top.
 20. *Cakes ham*—griddle cakes and ham.
 21. *Cakes sakes*—hot cakes and eggs. The 'sakes' is due to Southern influence—their pronunciation of eggs as [eɪgz] and assimilation of the resulting [keɪks eɪgz] to [keɪk-serks].
 22. *Chalk*—chocolate syrup.
 23. *Cheeseburger*—hamburger and cheese sandwich.
 24. *Chile with*—chile with hamburger.
 25. *Coke*—coca cola.
 26. *D*—on the dinner, not a la carte; as, 'van D'—vanilla ice cream served on the dinner. Cf. no. 2.
 27. *Draw one*—coffee. At one restaurant, a small root beer.
 28. *Draw one, Boston*—half cream and half coffee.
 29. *Draw one, half and half*—same as preceding.
 30. *Down*—served down at the lower end of the counter, farthest from the entrance.
 31. *Dust*—malt for malted milk (from the resemblance).
 32. *Eggs over*—eggs fried on both sides. (As an illustration of the new type of waitresses, when one got the order 'eggs over' she fried them on one side and flapped them upside down on the plate in front of the customer.)
 33. *Freak*—large orange coca cola (because anyone who would drink it is a freak).
 34. *Hang a crowd*—three large coca colas.
 35. *Hang a draw*—large root beer.
 36. *Hang a 44*—same as above.
 37. *Hang a fresh frown*, or *hang a fresh*—fresh lemon juice in a large coca cola (probably from the frown resulting from drinking undiluted lemon juice).
 38. *Hang a frown*—coca cola with lemon syrup (extract) from the fountain.
 39. *Hang an honest*—large cherry coca cola. (From the story of Washington cutting down the cherry tree.)
 40. *Hang a muddy*—chocolate coca cola.
 41. *Hang a muddy freshy van*—a large coca cola with chocolate and vanilla syrup and fresh lemon juice. (Various other combinations occur, according to the manner in which the customer likes his flavors mixed.)
 42. *Highball*—glass of milk. (Used at a restaurant within the 1-mile limit of the University of California, as no liquor is served in that area.)
 43. *Hold the hail*—without ice.
 44. *Holly*—to take out. (From Hollywood, where food is taken to studio personnel when they are too busy shooting to go to a restaurant.)
 45. *Hot Scotch*—hot butterscotch syrup.
 46. *Hot sun*—hot butterscotch sundae.
 47. *Little pigs*—little pig sausage.
 48. *Malt*—malted milk.
 49. *Marsh* (as in 'marsh sun')—marshmallow.
 50. *Mud*—coffee. In some restaurants, chocolate.
 51. *Look out for a hen flying through the barnyard*—watch for an egg. Used when about to toss an egg to the counter girl to put in a milk shake. (This is an example of too clever a coinage to be successful. It died when the college student, who frequently used it, quit work.)
 52. *On*—dish of ice cream a la carte.
 53. *One up*—hot dog' sandwich.
 54. *One with*—hamburger sandwich with onions.
 55. *One without*—hamburger sandwich without onions.
 56. *On the board*—served and on the board, ready for the waitress to serve.
 57. *On the dinner*—a smaller dish served with the dinner menu.
 58. *On the fire*—it is cooking.
 59. *Over*—pass the dish over the counter to be served in the booths.
 60. *Over easy*—eggs fried lightly on both sides.
 61. *Pie*—cobbler. Used by some customers in a cafeteria, not by the waitress.
 62. *Razz*—raspberry, as in 'razz-D,' raspberry ice cream on the dinner menu.
 63. *San*—sandwich.
 64. *Scramble two*—two scrambled eggs.
 65. *Shake*—milk shake.
 66. *Shoot one*—small coca cola.

67. *Short stack*—two hotcakes.
68. *Sixty-six*—two orders of ground beef-steak, one of which is '33,' *q. v.* Three orders of this is '99,' but four orders are called '33 on 4.'
69. *Snail*—not slang, but refers to a western sweet bread baked with raisins in it, and served with coffee for breakfast or snack. The dough is coiled in a spiral.
70. *Stack and*—hotcakes and fried eggs.
71. *Stack buttered*—buttered toast.
72. *Steak*—ground beef steak.
73. *Steak plain*—hamburger steak without onions or chile con carne.
74. *Steak with easy on*—hamburger steak with a little chile con carne.
75. *Stiff*—one who does not tip.
76. *Thirty-three*—ground beef steak, at one restaurant; see introduction. (At another, it was used to order a coca cola, although none remembered why.)
77. *To go*—to be taken out.
78. *Two in the water*—two boiled eggs.
79. *Up*—served, ready for the waitress to pick up (said by cook). At another restaurant, to be served at the upper end of the counter (said by waitress).
80. *Working*—it's cooking.

The writer has heard nearly all the above terms actually used in restaurants in the San Francisco East Bay area. A few have been entered on the assurance of culinary workers, whose word was considered reliable, that the terms are actually used in this vicinity. Some of them certainly cover a wider area, but most of them are believed to be a product of this vicinity and of the war years. They are not vulgar but may be considered the more elegant language of the culinary worker.

Thus this primarily local, East Bay culinary language contrasts with the former generally coastwise or Western culinary terminology, such as *a cluck and a grunt* (one egg and a piece of ham) or *cow* (milk); in its lack of vulgarity, as might be expected where the personnel is predominantly female, it contrasts with the virile language of the culinary workers of the old logging and construction camps or the recent war-time service camps, such as *clean the kitchen* (hash) or *light artillery* (beans).

THOUGHTS ON 'YEP' AND 'NOPE'

DWIGHT L. BOLINGER

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HAROLD WENTWORTH¹ gives the following information regarding *nope*: '1930 CENT. PENN. MTS. nope. Still or recently used. Shoemaker.' And this concerning *yep*: '[jɛp], [jɔp], [jap] are playful. 1892 U.S. [jɛp] with an unfinished *p* is probl. well known all over the country.' The second edition of Webster's *New International* gives *yep* as 'Dial. & colloq. var. of YES.'

As Wentworth keenly observes, the *p* in *yep* (and he would also have to add that of *nope*) is 'unfinished.' There is good reason for its being so: this *p* is not phonemic in the ordinary sense of the word, but gestural. It is the lip-closure of the gesture of finality which may be observed at the end of any number of peremptory statements, where it ordinarily passes unnoticed because other terminal sounds obscure it. With *yes* and *no* we cannot fail to detect the *p* because, as they are the most final things we can say, the lip-closure of finality so often accompanies them; and also because, with their brevity, the *p* is a relatively large and conspicuous element. The *p* is 'unfinished' because the gesture would be destroyed by opening the mouth for a subsequent release.

Lip-closing as a gesture is abundantly recorded by fiction if not by the writings of linguists. 'She preserved a tight-lipped silence,' 'His mouth was a thin line of determination,' 'He bit off every syllable,' "'I will not!'" he said, underscoring every word and clamping shut when he had finished—these and similar descriptions are commonplace. If the speaker is American, and will observe himself when he utters *well* as a sign of dismissal of some discussion or activity (as in 'Well'—pause—'what do we do next?'), he will often discover that he has used *welp*, with unfinished *p*. Like other actions, this gesture of finality may become a mannerism. At a recent graduation one of the officiating deans managed it conspicuously, on turning to go backstage, as from a job dutifully done, after having recited his list of candidates.

Other variants of *yes* and *no* are equally revealing. Says Wentworth, speaking of *naw*: '1917 N.E. OHIO naw [nɔɔ]. In answer, often connoting disgust that the question should be asked, whereas *no* is ordinarily used. General.' It is no accident that *naw* rhymes with the vocalized gesture *aw!* which is recorded lexically as an exclamation of incredulity, disgust, and like sentiments ('Aw, I did not'; 'Aw, you're crazy'; 'Aw, that don't amount

1. *American Dialect Dictionary*, New York, Crowell, 1944, s.v. *yes* and *no*.

to anything'). The same gesture may be noted in the exclamatory use of *go on!* where the jaw is strongly dropped and the lower lip flared out in uttering a stressed and drawled *on*—this exclamation, too, is used, of course, to scout the statement of someone else. The *yeah* of 'Oh, yeah?' (incredulous) is in large measure gestural. So is *bah!*

The lip-rounding gesture, with forward thrust, which often accompanies heavy deliberation or hesitation, finds its way into print in at least one form, usually written 'no-oo-oo' ('Will he do it?' 'No-oo-oo, I don't think so'). This is, as every radio-listener knows, a favorite with Charlie McCarthy.

The lip-retracting gesture, often accompanied by a manual gesture with thumb and forefinger measuring a narrow interval, is a frequent concomitant of the *ee* constellation of words, remarked by Jespersen² (*teeny-weenie, peep, neat, wee*, etc.). Observing someone say 'He has a *keen* mind,' with *keen* stressed and drawled, will often reveal this gesture. Just what may be the nervous reason for it I do not know, but I suspect that it is tension as a result of a feeling of inability to do justice to the thing described; the tone here is also 'tense' or high, and its connexion with a feeling of inadequacy was noted by Coleman. In any case the kinship of the gesture and the sound is obvious.

Some gestural effects are not sufficiently marked to be recognized as more than allophonic. Thus the kissing gesture that may accompany the utterance 'My poor, poor darling' does not sufficiently distort *poor* or *darling* so as to create a 'variant' or a 'new word,' such as has happened with *no-naw, tiny-teeny*, etc.

What importance does this have for language?

Any movement of the organism must affect, however remotely, the articulations of the organism; and the closer the movement approaches the organs most active in the articulation, the greater the effect will be. Facial gesture, and in particular gesture of lips, teeth, or jaw, cannot but alter the movements which are regarded as 'language.' Gesture is part of the movement complex by which we signal to our fellows; and if it turns out that concomitant gestures are capable of shuffling phonemes and creating words, we may find that the argument about what 'is' and 'isn't' language is more academic than we had imagined, and that language in the conventional sense is a highly arbitrary, though in some ways convenient, abstraction.

Granted that the abstraction has to be made, the question comes to be at what point it should be made. Surely this point is not before the full

2. *Language*, New York, Holt, 1922, pp. 402, 407.

implications of the phenomena that accompany language have been developed, but after. We cannot afford to exclude anything until we are informed of what it is that we are excluding. To do otherwise, to take an *a priori* and received notion of what we are going to consider our object of study, is to put ourselves in the position of the medieval scientist who, in order the better to understand fire, took the orthodox positivist step of excluding, at the beginning of his investigation, all consideration of earth, air, and water, since, as everyone knew, earth, air, fire, and water were four incommutable elements. Surrounding phenomena must be investigated for themselves, without bias from any previous style of investigation, at least far enough for us to know their bearing, before we dare to cross them off; otherwise we are too often caught with our ignorance down. For some reason, the very insistence upon language as a spoken phenomenon, i.e., as behavior, has been accompanied by a close concentration upon a limited number of behavior patterns, the latter suggestively reminiscent, in their selection for ease of recordability, of the 'written forms' from which we were supposed to have been emancipated. It is only by a return once more to the whole of communicative behavior, with energies of linguists more evenly distributed, that we shall avoid the over-growth and premature refinement of one or two component parts.

To bear out further this argument, let us look at the relevance of gesture to three departments which linguists are willing to recognize as 'language.'

1. *Gesture may be phonemic.* Besides the examples already given, we find the variants *huh?* and *h'm?*—the former accompanied by the hanging-jaw gesture of astonishment. The closed-mouth variants *m-h'm* ('yes') and *h'm-m* ('no') are more likely to be terminal in discourse than the corresponding open-mouthed *unh-huh* and *hunh-uh*.

The *ee* constellation of 'small, tense' words has been referred to. Two other constellations have at least coincidental support from gesture, the *v* constellation³ with its snarl, the potency of which can be appreciated if the *v* is prolonged a bit, and the *oo* constellation suggestive of a staring countenance⁴ about which cluster a great many English words suggesting foolishness. Gesture finds its way into the morphemes here both directly and imitatively—in the main directly, with the *v* constellation, the speaker

3. *Vituperative, vitriolic, vindictive, vengeful, vicious, vixenish, violent, vehement, vile, villainous, venomous, evict*, etc. 'Word Affinities,' *American Speech*, Feb. 1940, p. 71.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 71. Besides those recorded there, I list *foof*, *loopy*, the *Goops*, *woof* (as in 'I ain't a-woofin'), *spook*, *coon*, *fruity*, the *Oozlefinch* (a *Time* invention), *foozle*, and words in *-aroo*.

giving vent to his own snarl; with the *oo* constellation imitatively, the speaker mimicking the appearance of someone else.

2. *Gesture may be intonational.* The effects here are more subtle, inasmuch as fundamental pitch is not markedly affected by positions within the range of normal human gestures. If we include, however, the alterations of timbre which can be detected and taken as symbolic of the gestures and gestural attitudes that cause them, then clear-cut effects may be noted, particularly those brought about by changes of head position. I have tried the following test: Asking a group of observers (five students of phonetics) to face away from me, I uttered, first with head thrust forward (as one does when anxious or surprised), then with head drawn back (as when indignant or annoyed), the question 'He's coming, isn't he?' The fundamental pitch of the profile was kept as nearly the same as could be managed. The five unanimously identified the timbre produced by the forward thrust as indicative of anxiety-surprise, and that of the drawn-back position as indignation-annoyance, these two alternatives having been suggested to them beforehand. It is likely that the drawn-back position may have forced a slight lowering of pitch in addition to other changes.

On the whole, the phenomena of gesture and tone are parallel rather than interacting. Terminal downmotion of pitch is usually accompanied by mouth-closing; terminal upmotion, above all in questions, often with mouth remaining open. In very emphatic speech there is a tendency to punctuate sentence stress by downward jabs of the head (consider stress as tonal or as syntactic, as you like). Most remarkable of all, I note a tendency to make head movements, where they are any, conform to the melodic line—upward movement as the tone goes up, downward movement as the tone goes down. The best way to test this is to try to reverse it on certain profiles: with 'I know,' uttered with *I* at high pitch and with downmotion followed by terminal upmotion on *know*, let the head first move up on *I* with a down- and up-motion following as *know* is pronounced; this is easy to do, but the opposite—down-up-down—calls for conscious effort. The same difficulty is experienced in forcing a down-up movement to accompany 'I know' when uttered with *I* at high pitch and *know* with sharp downmotion ending at low pitch—the attempt seems to result in some involuntary upmotion at the beginning of *know*. Reversal of this tendency occasionally comes by way of some stereotyped gesture, as with the deferential bow that may accompany principal stress in the question 'Do you know?' where *know* describes a hump-shaped tonal curve. Or the stereotyped gesture may itself symbolize the same thing that the tone symbolizes, whence it becomes indifferent whether the melodic line is imitated or

not; this happens with tonal profiles of admonition and the admonitory gesture of sidewise motion of the head coming to rest at one side, with the speaker peering out of the corner of his eye—a gesture which may accompany the utterance or precede it.

3. *Gesture may be syntactic.* As a determinant of questions, gesture attains an importance that it does not have in any other communicative act whose chief ingredients are 'language.' There are various clues to questions: verbal, such as interrogative words and do-did prefixes (referred to by the etymological name of 'inversions'); tonal, such as, primarily, terminal upmotion; and contextual. The question is a complex, however, of which gesture forms a necessary part, since many utterances, without it, are indistinguishable as questions. Take the utterance 'Then you did it,' with sharp upmotion and stress on *you*, and rapid downmotion concluding with pitch below singing level reached on *it*. With head erect, lip-closure at end, and eyes averted, this is a statement. With head forward, mouth slightly open at end of utterance, eyebrows raised and eyes focused on the interlocutor's face, this is a question. The only clues to its questionness are the gestural concomitants. Their importance has not been overlooked by the fiction-writers, who usually summarize them as an 'inquiring look.'

Why have gestures seemed unattractive as a branch of inquiry essential to linguistics? There are probably several reasons. First, 'gesture' summons to the minds of most persons not facial contortions but bodily postures. Says Bloomfield:⁵ 'Still other responses are visible, but not directly important; they do not change the lay-out of things, but they do, along with speech, serve as stimuli to the hearer. These actions are facial expression, mimicry, tone of voice (in so far as it is not prescribed by the conventions of the language), insignificant handling of objects (such as fiddling with a rubber band), and, above all, *gesture*.' This implies, and further reading reveals, that *gesture* here is thought of as manual. It also implies that facial gestures, unlike intonation, are never 'prescribed by the conventions of the language,' i.e., are accidental concomitants, lacking in stereotypes and bearing no constant and organizable relationship to speech. Facial movements from this point of view are of a kind with chattering teeth (fear and cold), stopped nasal passages (catarrh), chuckling (uncontrolled mirth), gasping (breathlessness), etc.—at best having a sort of nonce expressiveness, at worst interfering with the more serious business of communication.

5. *Language*, New York, Holt, 1933, p. 39.

Most refractory of all, however, is probably the fact that in facial gesture, as in intonation, it is utterly impossible to draw the line between symbol (language) and symptom (non-language). The voice moves up at the end of a question. Is this a learned, conventionalized, linguistic fact, a symbol of questionness, or is it the result of nervous tension accompanying the feeling of uncertainty, which causes the muscles of the larynx to contract and produce a rising pitch? It is, of course, both; but to anyone who is wedded to the theory that linguistic phenomena must not be contaminated by anything which is not precisely analogous to the ordinary morphemes, long since freed of their instinctive ties, such a mixture of symbol and symptom must be avoided at all costs. The 'word' is comfortable to work with, for, being completely stylized, its form can be treated without reference to its meaning. As with intonation, so with facial gesture: leaving the mouth open at the end of an utterance can be learned as a device to suggest that the argument is not over; it is also an automatic result of the intention, or thought, of continuing. A snarl is instinctive; it is also the most potent device of incisive speech, and as such can be learned.

The gestures referred to here are not viewed, as M. H. Krout⁶ views them, as 'autistic.' They are, on the contrary, to a large degree learned and conventionalized, and hence are organizable and classifiable. They form as much a part of our communicative system as words and tones, and must, along with other communicative acts, be integrated into our organon of that system before we can fully know how much importance to attach to any one of the parts—in particular, whether the present all-pervasive attention to phonology is justified.⁷

6. *Psychological Monographs*, 1935, no. 4, pp. 1-126.

7. For a criticism of the current fondness for 'logistic phonemics,' see R. H. Stetson, *Bases of Phonology*, Oberlin College, 1945.

THE DIALECT OF APPALACHIA IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

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IN THE great bend formed by the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers lies a neglected portion of the region of the so-called dialect of Appalachia. Geographically Southern Illinois belongs to the Ozarks, whose foothills extend across this section from east to west. After George Rogers Clark took possession of this area for the American government, the pioneers who came here were of the same racial stock as those who settled in the mountain regions of Virginia, Tennessee, and the Carolinas. As a matter of fact, most of the pioneer inhabitants of the Ozark foothills in Southern Illinois came either directly from the Appalachian highlands of the states mentioned above or by way of Kentucky and inland Tennessee.

As we might expect, Southern Illinois dialect has much in common with that of Appalachia—is, in fact, a part of it. Like the dialect of Appalachia, it has preserved a number of speech-forms that have been discarded elsewhere, forms of Southern English, Irish, and Scotch-Irish origin.¹

Some of these expressions are of relatively early origin.² For instance, the word *gaum*, meaning 'a muss,'³ goes back at least to Chaucer.⁴ As a child in Southern Illinois, I often heard my mother, whose forebears came from the Appalachia country in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, use *gaum* to describe anything smeary spilled on the kitchen floor. *Gaum* still enjoys a limited use here.⁵ Other words of equally good precedent that we have in common with Appalachia are *feisty*, *infare*, *holp*, *afeard*, *piece*, and *betwixt*.⁶

1. 'The dialect of Appalachia is based primarily upon the Southern English of the late Seventeenth Century, but it has been considerably modified by the Northern English brought in by the Scotch-Irish.' H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*, 4th ed., p. 358.

2. See Lester V. Berrey, 'Southern Mountain Dialect,' *American Speech*, xv, 45-54.

3. Joseph Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*.

4. Alberta P. Hannum, 'The Mountain People,' *The Great Smokies and the Blue Ridge*, pp. 73-146.

5. Words designated in this study as of Southern Illinois usage have been checked by numerous students of the Southern Illinois Normal University who came from every part of this region. And as a native of Southern Illinois, I have heard this language in actual use for many years.

6. For comparison with the dialect of Appalachia, words used here have been checked with lists in Berrey, Mencken, and others.

As used here, *feisty* means 'lively' or 'frisky,'⁷ and seems to derive its meaning from the word *fice*, a small dog.⁸ *Infare*, 'a wedding reception given by the groom's family,'⁹ is rarely used now. *Betwixt* is rare. The Elizabethan strong preterite *holp*, as well as *swum*, *clum*, *wropped*, and *drug*,¹⁰ is not uncommon. We regularly use *piece*, 'a short distance,' and *afear'd*, 'afraid,' less commonly.

Older people pronounce *brush* 'bresh.'¹¹ Saline County boasts a Brushy Township, traversed by Brushy Creek, and in Brushy Township there is a Brushy Church. It was at this church in my father's youth that the Primitive Baptists carried out the ancient rite of Foot Washin' just as their relatives do on Brushy Fork in Appalachia.¹² In like manner, older persons *swinge* ('sing') chickens, use a *right smart* or a *heap* for a 'large amount,' *woman* for 'wife,' and *fitten* for 'suitable.'¹³ However, the word *das'n't* is used here rather than *darsen*, which is indicated as a mountain form by Thomas,¹⁴ although *daren't* is sometimes heard here also.

A quarter of a century ago the peddler with his heavily loaded pack was a common sight along the country roads of Southern Illinois. His pack was universally called his *budget* by the rural people.¹⁵ The word *budget* was also nearly always used for 'suitcase,' 'valise,' or 'traveling bag,' and is still sometimes used in this sense. Some other forms from the dialect of Appalachia which are in more or less common use in Southern Illinois are as follows:¹⁶

aholt, hold (with *get*).
allow, 'low, suppose, calculate.
aimed to, intended to.
amind, *be amind to*, have the intention to.
ary, *nary*, ever, never.
bad off, very ill.
b'ar, bear.
blamed if, I'm blamed if. (Passive.)
a body, one, a person.
chaw, chew.
cowcumber, cucumber.
deef, deaf.

drempt, dreamed.
evening, afternoon.
feel poorly, feel bad.
fetch, bring.
figgered, calculated, concluded.
fur and nigh, far and near.
garden sass (sauce), vegetables.
to gee, to be in accord.
git, get.
ham-meat, ham.
ha'nt, haunt.
heered, heard.

7. L. V. Berrey, and M. Van Den Bark, *The American Thesaurus of Slang*, p. 285.

8. Louise Pound, 'Some Folk-Locutions,' *American Speech*, xvii, 249.

9. Berrey and Van Den Bark, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

10. Berrey, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

11. Ozark pronunciation. See Mencken, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

12. Jean Thomas, 'The Changing Mountain Folk,' *The American Mercury*, July,

1945, p. 47.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 43, 45.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

15. Cf. Berrey, *op. cit.*

16. Cf. Hannum, Berrey, Mencken.

help, assist as a favor.

het, heated.

his'n, his.

hissself, himself.

h'isted, hoisted.

hit, it.

hunker, to squat.

hyur, here.

janders, jaundice.

keer, care.

kiver, cover.

layin' out to do, intending to do.

lick-splittin', in haste.

lit into, attacked vigorously.

mess of, a satisfactory amount.

no account ways, shiftless.

pack, carry.

'pears to me, seems to me.

peart, lively, pert.

peckerwood, woodpecker.

plumb beat, tired out.

puny, ailing.

purt nigh, nearly.

quar, queer.

reckon, suppose.

rench, rinse.

ruther, rather.

sassy, saucy.

seed, saw.

skeer, scare.

skin down, slide down. (Also *shinny up*.)

sprung his back, sprained his back.

sot, set.

stout, healthy.

thar, there.

theirselves, themselves.

throde, threw.

tromple, trample.

war, was, were.

we-uns, we.

whur, where.

yan side, the other side.

yo, ewe.

yonder (*up yonder*).

yo're, your.

At the present time in Southern Illinois, many of these words are used only by older members of the group under discussion or by people in isolated communities. Some of these forms, however, have a definite place in everyday discourse. To say, for example, that a person looks *stout*, meaning in good health, is fairly common. The rural or village dweller will tell you that he feels *poorly*,¹⁷ if his illness is serious, his friends report that he is *bad off*. A native whose appetite has been whetted by long abstinence is likely to long for a *mess* of some particular dish; but only a genuine old timer speaks of *garden sass* now. High school English teachers have done much to substitute *afternoon* for *evening*, but the latter word is still widely used.

Only the most unaffected pioneer element uses the interesting *ary*, *nary*, and *hit*. I have heard a few elderly people regularly say *body* and *quar*. Such words as *reckon*, *layin' out to do*, *skun down*, *plumb beat*, *up yonder*, and *tuk the heart plumb out of him* are still heard from time to time. Pronunciations such as *h'isted*, *whur*, *yo're*, *purty*, *hain't*, *heerd*, *seed*, *peart*, and *tromple* are common among uneducated natives.

The word *again* or *'gin* is sometimes used here in the meaning of 'by the time,' as 'Gin I get my gun, he will be gone.' Farmers and people in small towns go to the store to do their *trading*, even when they pay cash for purchases. Among farmers, a 'mantel' is known as a *fireboard*, and a

17. Used as early as the sixteenth century; see *Oxford English Dictionary*.

'cupboard' as a *safe*. In older times, rarely now, *brindle gravy*, sometimes called *frogeye gravy*,¹⁸ was a popular dish; a dash of water in a little hot ham grease in the skillet did the trick. To an enquiry about his health, a rural person is likely to say *tol'able*. A *mess* of early spring 'greens' cooked with a piece of fat and served with vinegar is called *sallet*¹⁹ in rural communities. A *body* who has gained weight enough to show signs of obesity is said to be *fleshy* or *pussy* (*pursy*). Asparagus is called *spargrass*, and a rough sack is called a *tow sack*. Redundancy is common among uneducated people, who say *hound dog*, *bacon meat*, *biscuit bread*, *toad frog*, *church house*, etc. A *right smart* implies a reasonable amount or degree, and a *heap* is a large amount.

In more recent times, the coming of large groups of people of other nationalities has created islands of considerable size in this isolated section of Appalachia. A predominance of Germans in St. Clair and Monroe counties and of Italians in various coalmining areas has given those sections dialects with their own individual peculiarities. Education, also, has modified considerably the dialect of Appalachia here in Southern Illinois. Nevertheless, there is abundant evidence that the dialect still persists in strength in the southeastern two-thirds of this area. As in the mountain regions, the survival of the dialect here may be accounted for by the fact that until quite recently the hill portions of Southern Illinois were isolated districts with rather limited educational facilities. Moreover, the people are possessed of strong individualistic tendencies, and have resisted the encroachment of outside influences. With the coming of the improved system of highways, better educational facilities, and the radio, another generation or so will probably see the disappearance of the last vestiges of the old dialect.

18. See also Grace P. Smith, 'Speech Currents In Egypt,' *American Speech*, xix, 170. Mrs. Smith has also listed other words used above, namely *clumb*, *evening*, *piece*, *you-uns*, *pack*, *gaum*.

19. Mencken, *op. cit.*, p. 360, *salat*.

JAPANESE EQUIVALENTS FOR CERTAIN
AMERICAN PLACE NAMES

亞都	A-gun Alameda County	紐育市	Nyūyōku-shi New York City
亞米利加	Amerika America	奧殿	Okuden Ogden
亞市	A-shi Alameda	王市	Ō-shi Oakland
米國	Beikoku America	央州	Ō-shū Oregon
麥嶺	Bakurei Berkeley	巴市	Pa-shi Pasadena
大盆地	Dai Bonchi Great Basin	ポ市	Po-shi Portland
大鹽湖	Dai Enko Great Salt Lake	羅府	Ra-fu Los Angeles
傳馬	Demba Denver	佐市	Sa-shi San Jose
鹽湖市	Enko-shi Salt Lake City	櫻市	Sakura-shi Sacramento
布市	Fu-shi Fresno	散港	San-kō San Pedro
布哇縣	Hawai-ken Territory of Hawaii	サ市	Sa-shi Salinas
東散港	Higashi Sankō East San Pedro	沙市	Sha-shi Seattle
華府	Ka-fu Washington, D.C.	山中部	Sanchūbu Mountain States
河畔	Kahan Riverside	桑港	Sōkō San Francisco
加州	Ka-shū California	須市	Su-shi Stockton
華村	Ka-son Watsonville	市俄古市	Shikago Chicago
金門海峽	Kimmon-kaikyō Golden Gate	帝國平原	Teikoku-heigen Imperial Valley
馬哇島	Maui Maui	灣東地方	Wantō Chihō East Bay District
長濱	Nagahama Long Beach	華盛頓	Washinton Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN JAPANESE PLACE NAMES

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THE NAMES by which Japanese-speaking residents of the United States have designated certain cities, towns, states, and natural features illustrate several interesting processes in the formation of geographical nomenclature. The following brief survey reveals five principal methods of treatment of American place names which have passed into American Japanese literary usage. While the majority of such names have been transcribed in the phonetic symbols of the Japanese *kana* syllabary, many of the important names have come to be expressed through translation, through transcription in Chinese characters selected for their phonetic value, through abbreviated transcriptions in Chinese characters, or through combinations of the preceding methods. It should be stressed that with few exceptions, drastic modifications of American place names have occurred in the written language only, rather than in the language of ordinary American Japanese conversation.

The first Japanese to settle in the United States were confronted by place names for the most part meaningless to their English-speaking neighbors, in the sense that the names were impossible to translate. The chief areas of Japanese settlement were the San Francisco Bay region, the Los Angeles region, the interior valleys of California, and the cities and valleys of the Pacific Northwest. All these areas present a miscellany of names of Spanish, Indian, and, less often, of English origin. Most of the English names are untranslatable surnames, like *Everett* or *Stockton*, or are place names from other parts of the world, like *Richmond* or *Salem*.

The normal procedure for adopting such meaningless place names seems to be for the adopting speakers to recast the new name in the phonemic mould of their own language. The written form of the newly-adopted name may remain unchanged, or it may be altered to conform to a more familiar orthography; the former possibility of course exists only in languages which have the same alphabet. For a language possessing not only a phonetic script (in the case of Japanese, the *kana* syllabaries), but an ideographic script as well, the possibility arises of reproducing the sounds of a new name taken from a foreign language in written characters which convey meanings not present in the original name. While this possibility is not entirely lacking in languages using alphabets, it is rarely realized; in one which uses ideographs, it is ever-present. A crude parallel to the normal process in Japanese might be constructed by assuming (without historical foundation) that in the creation of the traditional English

version of the Italian place name *Livorno*, the Englishman transcribing the Italian name decided that the connotations of the spelling 'Leghorn' were preferable to the alternatives 'Live-or-no' or 'Liver-know.' In this sense, transcriptions of foreign words in Chinese characters have intrinsic 'folk-etymologies'; choice of characters in such name-transcription is apparently never a purely mechanical or haphazard process, and is often rather ingenious. Some names may represent deliberate attempts to avoid conveying meanings.

Place names rendered in the *kana* syllabary illustrate the commonplace doctrine that words often undergo startling phonetic change in passing from one language to another. Otherwise they are not of special interest. Japanese maps for parts of the world other than those in which Chinese writing has been predominant (China, Korea, Japan) carry nearly all place names in simple *kana* transcriptions. The generic parts of such names (words like 'bay,' 'river,' 'mountain') are ordinarily written in Chinese characters. In the *kana* syllabary *Kingsburg* and *Visalia* become *Kingusubāgu* and *Baisariya*; the *Colorado River* appears as the *Kororadogawa*. These formations are all quite regular, and could be constructed by anyone provided with a statement of the phonetic patterns of Japanese. It is not with these *kana* transcriptions that this paper is concerned, but with the much smaller group of names which have come to be written, at least in Japanese publications intended for readers in the United States, in Chinese characters.

Where names to be adopted had unmistakable meanings, they were sometimes translated into Japanese. Evidently this process is more difficult than might be supposed, for few names were actually so treated. The *Golden Gate* appears as *Kimmon-kaikyō*, but an informant familiar with Japanese American speech tells the writer that this literal translation would be rare in conversation, where the simple phonetic rendering *Goroden-gēto* would be more readily understood. *Long Beach* sometimes occurs in print as *Nagahama*, a literal translation. *Nagahama* is a very acceptable Japanese place name (there are several in Japan), but the seemingly awkward transcription *Rongubichi* was preferred. One other West Coast town has a translated name which appears in printed material: *Riverside*, written as *Kahan*. Again, daily speech preferred the phonetic approximation, *Ribāsaido*. For *Great Salt Lake* and *Salt Lake City*, the written forms are *Dai En-ko* and *En-ko-shi*, respectively; the pronunciations seem to have been *Sōto Rēki* and *Sōto Rēki Shi*.

Translations of names for areas appear more often than those for towns and cities. Thus, the *East Bay District* emerges as *Wantō-chihō*, the *Great Basin* as *Dai Bonchi*, and *Imperial Valley* as *Teikoku-heigen*. Some

regional names were not literally translated, but paraphrased. The *Pacific Northwest* (which would have seemed hardly 'western' to people coming from so much farther west) was expressed by *Hokubu*, literally, 'Northern Section.' The *Mountain States* were designated by the equally expressive *Sanchūbu*, 'Mountains Central Section.'

The preferred way of dealing with American place names in frequent use seems to have been a compromise, which retained in the written form the conciseness, specificity, and particularly the superior quality of 'style' inherent in Chinese characters, while suggesting the English pronunciation, or the Japanese version of it. This was accomplished mainly by abbreviation, in which a character is chosen which has a reading (pronunciation) approximating the initial sound or sounds of the original name. Thus, *Alameda* is written *A-shi*. The first character is read *A*, the initial sound of the name to be represented; the second character, read *shi*, means 'city,' suffixed in conformity to Japanese practice. The pronunciation of this name by an informed American Japanese reader, knowing it to stand for *Alameda*, would be *Arumeda-shi*.

Examples of abbreviations in writing which are pronounced in full in everyday speech include: *Pa-shi* (Pasadena), *Su-shi* (Stockton), *Fu-shi* (Fresno), *Sa-shi* (San Jose), and *Ō-shi* (Oakland). In speech, these same names are *Pasadena*, *Sutakuton*, *Furesuno*, *Sannoze*, and *Ōkurando*. Other abbreviated names are *San-kō* (San Pedro), in which the *-kō* means 'harbor,' and the state names *Ka-shū* and *Ō-shū*, in which the *-shū* means 'state,' for California and Oregon, respectively.

Not all abbreviated names are formed so simply. The American Japanese name for Los Angeles, used not only in writing, but in ordinary speech, is composed of two characters, the first meaning 'net' or 'gauze,' and the second meaning 'provincial capital.' This name, *Ra-fu*, appears at first quite unrelated to *Los Angeles*, which indeed is sometimes rendered in direct *kana* syllable transcription as *Rosuanzerusu*. It may be that the *Ra*, representing the initial *Lo* (of *Los*), is an American Japanese borrowing from local Chinese usage. The regular Japanese reading for this *Ra* is *rō*, and the Chinese is *lo*. The extent to which Japanese in the United States have adopted the characters used by the Chinese in writing American place names might well form the subject of another investigation. The name for *Seattle*, written *Sa-shi* but read *Shiyatoru*, may be also an instance of borrowing from Chinese; as it happens, there is an important city in Hupei Province, China, which is written with the same characters (*Sha-shih* in Chinese).

A few city names on the West Coast acquired abbreviations written with a simple *kana* syllable initial, followed by the character for 'city.'

Thus, *Portland*, read *Pōtorando*, is written *Po-shi*; *Salinas*, pronounced *Sarinasu*, is written *Sa-shi*. This device is hardly more than a shorthand for the full *kana* transcription.

San Francisco, certainly the earliest city in the western United States to become well-known in the Far East, is one of the few American city names entirely in characters which is widely used in Japan proper. *Sōkō*, literally 'Mulberry Port,' is exceptional in that any educated Japanese in Japan could be expected to recognize the name. Names like *A-gun* or *Okuden* would be entirely meaningless in a *Tōkyō* daily newspaper. While more information is needed before a definite conclusion can be reached, *Sōkō* would seem to be derived from the form *'Frisco*, the locally tabu nickname for *San Francisco*.

Names which are transcribed entirely in Chinese characters, selected for their phonetic value, constitute another but smaller class. *Bakurei* (literal meaning, 'Wheat Peak') for Berkeley, and *Sakura-shi* ('Cherry City') for Sacramento are cases in which meanings are incidental. *Denver* emerges in written form as *Demba*, a regular compound noun meaning 'post-horse,' usually read *temma*. The islands of *Hawaii* and *Maui* are satisfactorily rendered in characters which have approximately the phonetic values of the original names. Other examples are *Nyūyōku* for *New York*, *Shikago* for *Chicago*, and *Okuden* for *Ogden*.

The connotations of names thus written in meaningful characters raises a point which has been noted previously. Karl Haushofer was impressed by the unfavorable connotations of the Japanese name for *Germany*, *Doitsu*, composed of characters meaning 'by itself' and 'to go astray' among other things, in contrast to the highly favorable impressions conveyed in the characters used for *England*, *Eikoku* ('Excellent Country'), and for *America*, *Beikoku* ('Rice Country').¹ Although such connotations of names may be absurd, it is possible that the reader sees 'City Suddenly Old' in *Shikago*, or 'Innermost Temple' ('Wife and Gentleman' might be read into the name) in *Okuden*. These absurd meanings are perhaps as important semantically as the word 'flowery' in the official name of the Chinese Republic, which is literally 'Middle Flowery People Country.' The same 'flower' character is used in the name *Washinton*, which could be translated 'Flower Bloom Salutation.' The first character, meaning 'flower,' is ordinarily read *Ka* instead of *Wa*, which explains the abbreviated form *Ka-fu*, 'Flower Capital,' the most common designation for Washington, D.C.

1. Karl Haushofer, *Das japanische Reich in seiner geographischen Entwicklung* (1921), pp. 161-162.

The same *Ka* or *Wa* appears in the name for *Watsonville*, California, where an ingenious choice of a second character *-son* (meaning 'village,' '-ville') produces *Ka-son* (better *Wa-son*), a transcription which combines phonetic and semantic elements in a most satisfactory fashion.

Modifications of the foregoing names by prefixing or suffixing of directional or other terms follow regular patterns of Japanese name formation. *Ka-shū* is often modified by the word for 'south'; *Minami Ka-shū* (or *Nan Ka-shū*) is *Southern California*. Similarly, *West Los Angeles* is *Nishi Rafu*, and *Alameda County* is *A-gun*.

While most of the names considered in this paper are restricted to the written language, the written form is likely to be carried over into speech when it is part of the name of an institution which is important in the Japanese speaking community. Thus, *Ka-son Gakuen* ('Watsonville [Japanese] School') or *Pa-shi Nihonjin Kai* ('Pasadena Japanese Association') might be used in conversation where the isolated forms, *Ka-son* or *Pa-shi* would not be acceptable.

The writer suggests that more studies of the spoken and written language of the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese residents of this country be undertaken. The ways in which these three unrelated Far Eastern languages, all possessing the rich word-forming stock of Chinese characters, have reacted to the necessity of creating new words in the American environment contrast strikingly to the familiar processes of assimilation of American English by speakers of various European languages.²

2. The sources which I have used in the preparation of this article, in addition to Karl Haushofer's book cited in footnote 1, are: *Dai Hyakka Jiten* (encyclopaedia), Heibonsha, Tōkyō, 1935, 28 vols.; *Hawai Hōchi* ('Hawaii Herald'), daily newspaper, Honolulu, T.H.; *Nichibei Jūsho Roku* ('The Japanese American Directory'), San Francisco, 1937, 584 pp.; U. S. Board on Geographical Names, *Special Publication No. 25*, 'Guide to Geographical Names in the Japanese Empire,' Washington, D.C., 1944 (second printing).

PHONEMIC STRUCTURE AND AURAL PERCEPTION

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IT is well known that the phonemic structure of English and Spanish differs sharply in respect to the nasal sounds. English has three nasal sounds, [m], [n], and [ŋ], all of them phonemic entities, although the last of these is a defective phoneme since it does not occur initially. Otherwise minimal contrasts occur in all positions, witness *meat*~*neat*, *bum*~*bun*~*bung*, and *simmer*~*sinner*~*singer*.

Spanish has the three nasal phonemes, /m/, /n/, and /ɲ/. Of these, the last is a palatal nasal, occurring most often in medial position, initially probably in not more than a dozen words in the whole language, and finally not at all. In fact, it need concern us no further. The phoneme /m/ is also defective in that it does not occur in final position. The velar nasal [ŋ], although frequent enough in actual occurrence, is not a phoneme at all, but a regular positional variant of /n/ before the velar stops [g] and [k]. The phoneme /n/ remains, therefore, as the only one which is found initially, medially, and finally.

We are faced then with the curious circumstance that although the phones [m], [n], and [ŋ] are present in both English and Spanish, where they do not differ appreciably in the mechanics of articulation, yet they occupy totally different positions in respect to the phonemic structure of the two languages concerned. This raises the question: What effect does this difference in phonemic structure have upon the teaching problem, particularly that of teaching English as a foreign language to native speakers of Spanish?

From the point of view of a spoken command of the language, that is to say of pronunciation, the chief problems are to teach the native Spanish speaker to pronounce [m] in final position, and to be able to make [ŋ] in isolation without the accompanying velar stops. At first glance this might seem to be wholly a problem of oral production, but some of our experiences at the English Language Institute in Mexico in teaching English to students with a Spanish language background led us to believe that the hearing factor was also involved to a considerable extent. It stands to reason that if the student does not hear accurately, imitation will not be an efficient teaching procedure, and even detailed phonetic instructions as to how to produce the sounds in question may fail of the desired effect. We set out, therefore, to devise a test of aural perception of

final nasal sounds, in order to determine to what extent the students succeeded in discriminating among these three sounds when uttered by native English speakers.

Accordingly, twenty-five monosyllables were selected for this experiment, nine of them, *some, scream, swim, firm, mime, room, same, ham, and loam* with final [m]; ten others, *thin, line, turn, fan, warn, loon, dawn, stun, bean, and main* with final [n]; and the remaining six, *rang, long, bung, flung, sing, strong* with final [ŋ]. Of this selection, the words *some, scream, mime, firm, line, turn, room, same, warn, loon, main, bean* and *loam* will be recognized as presenting minimal alternation between /m/ and /n/. The words *thin, lawn, fan, dawn, stun, and sing* are members of minimal pairs with /n/ and /ŋ/. *Swim* and *ham* have a minimal contrast in /m/ and /ŋ/. Two others, *rang* and *bung*, may occur with any one of the three nasal phonemes (*ram~ran~rang; bum~bun~bung*), whereas the remaining two, *strong* and *flung*, enter into no minimal relationships so far as the final sound is concerned. An attempt was made, moreover, to include specimens of as many vowel sounds as possible before the nasals, so altogether the final list represented a complex of many factors.

The next problem was to decide upon the method by which the students' aural perceptions might be determined. There are three possibilities here: writing from dictation in the conventional orthography, writing from dictation in a phonetic alphabet, and using a conventionalized but analphabetic system of symbols. There are serious objections to the first two methods suggested. Conventional English spelling is so irregular that in many cases the student's attention is drawn to factors other than the particular sound on which his faculties should be concentrated. This was quite apparent in a preliminary dictation of the list of words previously cited in which ordinary spelling was employed. The word *firm*, for example, appeared as *form, from, ferme, farn, fornd*, and in addition so many words were omitted from each student's list that the results were wholly incapable of comparison.

The use of phonetic symbols might appear to be a more satisfactory way of administering such a test, but it would be of value only if one were assured that all the students taking the test had mastered the phonetic alphabet competently. It is difficult to assume this in respect to the average student's native language, and would be even more so for a foreign language. Moreover, there is a danger of circularity of reasoning here, for a consistent use of the phonetic alphabet naturally depends upon accuracy of aural perception. Hence it would scarcely be appropriate to use it as a measuring device to test such accuracy.

The third method is that of assigning an arbitrary non-alphabetic symbol to each of the sounds whose perceptibility is being tested. This completely eliminates orthography as a variable and has the added advantage of being quicker and more direct, since it requires neither the spelling nor the transcription of the whole word.

This last method was the one chosen for the experiment with which we are here concerned. The list of twenty-five words was read to seven sections of beginning and intermediate English containing 123 students, in the following order: *thin, some, rang, scream, swim, long, firm, line, mime, bung, turn, fan, room, same, warn, strong, loon, dawn, ham, flung, stun, main, bean, loam, sing*. Students were told to listen carefully for the final sound of each word, to indicate it with the number 1 if they heard it as [m], with 2 if they heard it as [n], and with 3 if they heard the sound as [ŋ]. The results of the dictation are presented in the following tables.

TABLE I AURAL PERCEPTION OF FINAL [m]			
<i>Times heard as</i>			
<i>Word</i>	[m]	[n]	[ŋ]
ham	117	3	3
room	116	5	2
some	114	6	3
firm	109	7	6
swim	107	8	6
scream	106	7	10
same	106	8	9
mime	102	17	4
loam	99	8	16
<i>Total</i>	976	69	59
<i>Per Cent</i>	88.4	6.2	5.4

TABLE II AURAL PERCEPTION OF FINAL [n]			
<i>Times heard as</i>			
<i>Word</i>	[m]	[n]	[ŋ]
dawn	2	113	7
turn	2	112	9
loon	4	108	11
fan	2	104	15
stun	3	104	16
main	8	102	13
line	2	97	24
thin	7	84	32
bean	2	80	40
warn	7	79	37
<i>Total</i>	39	983	204
<i>Per Cent</i>	3.2	80.1	16.7

TABLE III AURAL PERCEPTION OF FINAL [ŋ]			
<i>Times heard as</i>			
<i>Word</i>	[m]	[n]	[ŋ]
sing	1	9	112
strong	2	9	112
flung	2	11	108
long	2	13	106
bung	8	13	102
rang	1	31	90
<i>Total</i>	16	86	629
<i>Per Cent</i>	2.2	11.8	86

TABLE IV SUMMARY			
<i>Percentage of</i>			
<i>Heard as</i>	[m]	[n]	[ŋ]
[m]	976	69	59
[n]	39	983	204
[ŋ]	16	86	629
<i>Total</i>			
<i>Mishearing:</i>	<i>Instances</i> 473		
	<i>Percentage</i> 15.8		

A glance at the summary table (iv) reveals the results of the experiment in broad outline. In spite of the fact that the native speaker of Spanish normally produces the same three nasals that regularly occur in English, the differences in the phonemic alignment of these three sounds in the two languages appears to cause a considerable amount of mishearing. The total of 15.8 per cent of mishearing virtually means that a final nasal is heard incorrectly once out of every six times that it is produced in the language being learned. Psychologically this is interesting because it shows concretely the considerable extent to which phonemic structure is likely to affect normal hearing processes—a fact to which every linguistic investigator who has attempted to cope with some unknown language containing [ŋ] in initial position can readily testify. Moreover this same general fact is pedagogically important as well, for it suggests that a great amount of practice in hearing must accompany, if not precede, practice in making the nasal sounds in unaccustomed positions.

In addition to the general consideration that mishearing does occur to a marked extent, there is something to be gained from an examination of the specific facts as indicated in Tables I-III. We may begin with the [m] sound, which was heard correctly more often (88.4%) than either of the two other nasals. In addition to being heard correctly most frequently, the sound was rarely heard in place of either of the other nasals; words pronounced with final [ŋ] were heard as [m] only 2.2% of the total number of instances, and words with final [n] were heard as [m] only 3.2%. It is true, of course, that [m], being a bilabial nasal, was dynamically more distinct from the other two, which are both lingual nasals irrespective of point of contact, but these results also suggest that when a defective phoneme in the native language appears in all possible positions in the language being learned, there is by no means the difficulty and confusion that occurs when a phonemic variant in the native language appears as an independent phoneme in the language being learned.

It is hard to say whether the 6.2% of mishearings of [m] as [n], compared with the 5.4% misheard as [ŋ], have any significance whatsoever, or whether this is purely a chance distribution. It is interesting to observe that in general the words in which the popularly called 'short' vowels [æ], [ʌ], [ɪ] preceded the final nasals were misheard less frequently than those containing such sounds as [i], [e], [o], [ɑ]. If on the basis of further experiment this suggestion is verified, it would appear that sound pedagogical practice would be to begin practice with minimal pairs containing these 'short' vowels, using pairs containing the 'long' vowels only after virtual perfection is attained with the others.

Although the mishearings of [m] as [n] are actually greater numerically, it is interesting to observe that with the exception of *mime*, the four words misheard most frequently were mistaken as [ŋ] more often than as [n], and that with the single exception of *ham*, which had an even distribution of mishearings, the five words misheard least often were most frequently mistaken as [n]. It is difficult, on the basis of the present evidence, to say whether a mishearing is apt to be in the direction of the sound in which a minimal pair exists. It is true, for example, that *mime* was heard 17 times as [maɪn] and only 4 as [maɪŋ], but on the other hand *scream* was heard more often as containing final [ŋ] than [n], even though a minimal pair with /n/ does exist and none with /ŋ/. The same is true of both *same* and *loam*, among those with a high degree of mishearing, and *ham*, with the lowest number of mishearings, was heard as [hæn] just as often as [hæŋ]. This too needs further examination, but probably should be carried on with vocabulary control, that is, experimentation with minimal pairs, both members of which are known to be familiar to the student, and secondly, with pairs which are known to be unfamiliar.

Whereas mishearings of [m] were almost equally divided between the two other nasals, mishearings of [n], the sound heard correctly least often, lean overwhelmingly in the direction of confusion with [ŋ], to the extent of a five to one ratio. This is of immediate interest in view of the fact that of all the three sounds considered in this paper, /n/ is in itself a phoneme in both languages, capable of occurrence in initial and medial as well as in final position. This appears to reinforce a conclusion reached in a similar experiment with the [ʃ] and [tʃ] sounds in English and Spanish¹ to the effect that occurrence in both the native language and the language being learned is no guarantee against mishearing. In fact, it would appear that the very awareness that in the language being learned [ŋ] does occur independently, places the student on his guard, and in his anxiety not to be mistaken he seems likely to interpret anything about which he has the least doubt in the direction of the sound which does not so occur in his own language.

Again, the existence of minimal pairs seems to have little bearing upon, the direction of the mishearing of the ten words. Those words for which there are minimal pairs in /n/ and /m/ were heard as [ŋ] quite as often as those for which there were pairs in /n/ and /ŋ/. *Warn* was heard only 7 times as *warm* but 37 times with final [ŋ]. Yet it would be difficult to conclude that the retroflexion of the preceding sound had anything to do with the mishearing, because *turn* had a total of only 11 mishearings.

1. A. H. Marckwardt, 'An Experiment in Aural Perception,' *English Journal*, 33 (1944): 212-214.

In this instance it is virtually impossible to establish any relationship between the particular stressed vowels represented by these words and the proportion of mishearing.

The sound [ŋ] is midway between [m] and [n] in total percentage of mishearing, but again the mistakes in the direction of [n] show approximately a five to one preponderance over those in the direction of [m]. It is in connection with this sound that we gain our most significant information as to the influence of minimal pairs upon mishearing. Our list of six words in this category contained two, *bung* and *rang*, for which there are minimal pairs both in /m/ and in /n/, and two others, *flung* and *strong*, for which minimal pairs do not exist. The latter two were among the three words heard correctly most often, whereas the former two were those heard correctly least often.

In conclusion, the results of this experiment may be summarized as follows:

(1) Mishearing of the three English final nasals by speakers of a Spanish language background is of sufficient frequency to be taken into account pedagogically to insure successful production. Any planned work in pronunciation must include hearing exercises as an initial step.

(2) Mishearing comes as a result of the difference between the phonemic structure of the two languages, but it would appear that a defective phoneme in the learner's native language is misheard less frequently in the language being learned than is a phonemic variant.

(3) There is no appreciable relationship between the existence of minimal pairs and the direction of mishearing, but words for which there are no minimal pairs seem to be misheard least often, and words for which there are minimal pairs throughout the whole nasal series are misheard most often.

(4) There is insufficient evidence to make a convincing case for the influence of adjacent sounds upon the correctness of hearing.

Although these conclusions must be stated with some amount of hesitation because of the small number of words included, yet the number of subjects involved in the experiment was at least large enough to give it a certain amount of validity, and the results are of sufficient interest to suggest the value of further investigation into the hearing factor as an element in language learning.

NOTES ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF 'HURRY'

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THE VERB *hurry* has two main types of pronunciation in present-day English. The first contains the same vowel phoneme as *hut* [hʌt], and its usual phonetic transcription is [hʌɾɪ]. The second contains the same vowel phoneme as *hurt* [hɜt], and is variously transcribed as [hɜɾɪ], [hɜɾɪ], or [hɜɾɪ]. A third type, [hɛɾɪ], with a shorter vowel than that used in *hairy*, occurs rarely, and seems to be irrelevant to any regional pattern. I shall refer to the two main types as the [ʌ] type and the [ɜ] type, and transliterate citations using other symbols into [ʌ] and [ɜ]. A few other words, such as *worry*, *courage*, *thorough*, *current*, and *furrow*, belong in the same historical category as *hurry*, but are omitted from this discussion for lack of adequate data.

Historically both [ʌ] and [ɜ] develop from Early Modern [hʊɾɪ]. Kenyon points out¹ that earlier [ʊ] has become [ʌ] in British speech,² and to some extent in the East and South in America, while [ɜ] predominates in General American. Webster's *New International Dictionary* recorded only [ʌ] in the 1917 printing, and specifically ruled out [ɜ] in the 'Guide to Pronunciation' (p. lvi); the second edition (1941 printing) records [ɜ] in the body of the dictionary, and comments on the British use of [ʌ] in the 'Guide to Pronunciation' (p. lii). Funk and Wagnalls' *New Standard Dictionary* (1942 printing) gives only [ʌ]. Kenyon and Knott's *Pronouncing Dictionary of American English* (Springfield, Mass., 1944) gives [ɜ] for the North,³ both [ɜ] and [ʌ] for the East and South. Kurath⁴ finds [ɜ] more frequent than [ʌ] except along the north Atlantic seaboard. These divergent opinions suggest that regional preferences for the two main types need to be more fully investigated.

For some time I have been recording the pronunciation used in connected sentences by students, Army and Navy recruits, and ordinary people in their homes. I have classified the resultant data by states and

1. J. S. Kenyon, *American Pronunciation*, 8th ed. (Ann Arbor, 1940), p. 193; see also Kenyon's 'Some Notes on American R,' *American Speech*, 1: 338 (1926).

2. The Oxford Dictionary and Jones's *English Pronouncing Dictionary* bear this statement out.

3. The same area that Kenyon calls 'General American' in his *American Pronunciation*.

4. Hans Kurath, 'American Pronunciation,' *S.P.E. Tract* no. 30 (Oxford, 1928), p. 285.

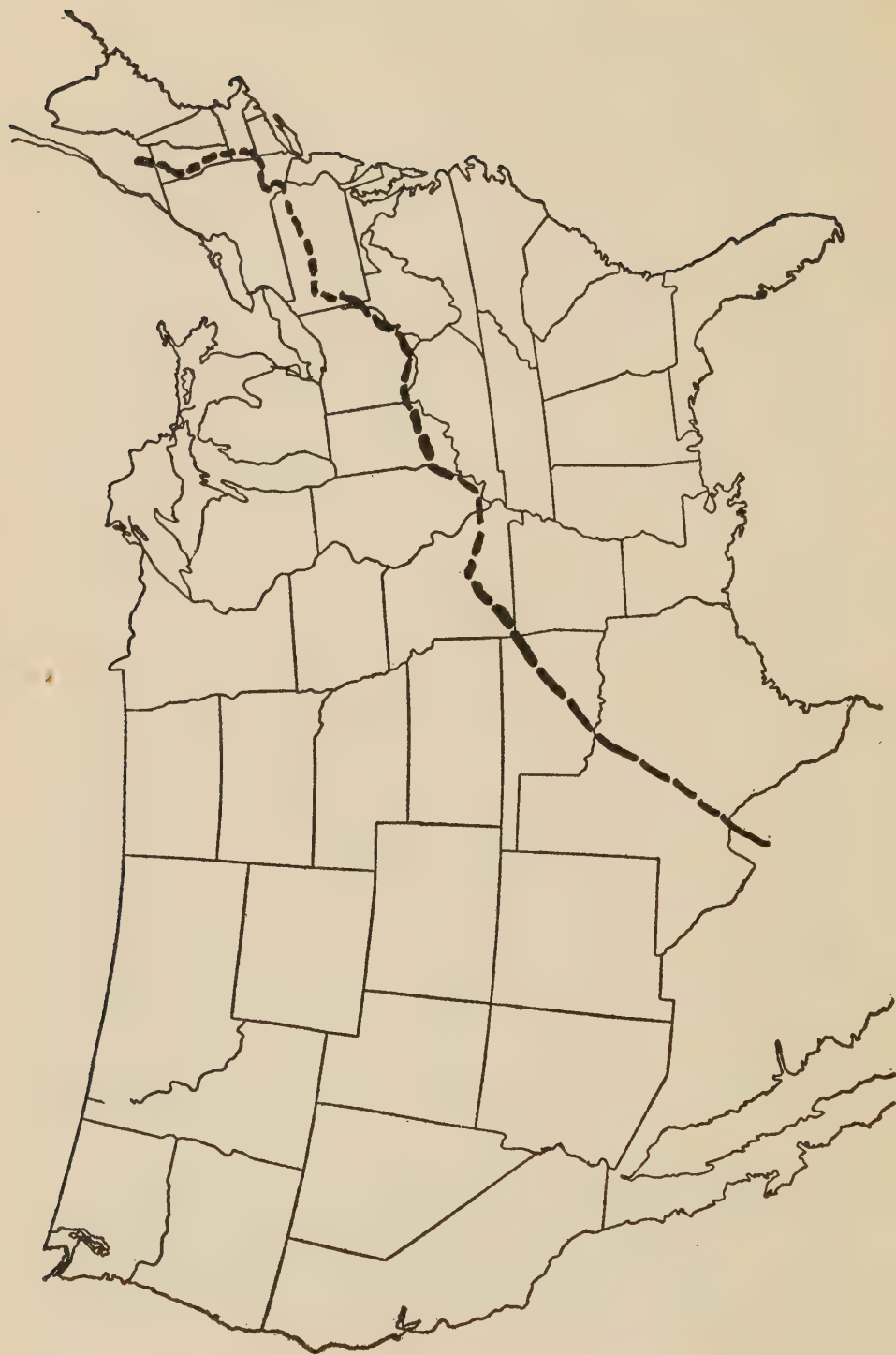
counties, and have recorded the locally predominant forms on a county map of the United States. The data follow:

Maine: [Λ] 22 instances, [ɜ] 6 instances, [Λ] 78%; New Hampshire: [Λ] 16, [ɜ] 11, [Λ] 59%; Vermont: [Λ] 50, [ɜ] 62, [ɜ] 55%; Massachusetts: [Λ] 159, [ɜ] 17, [Λ] 90%; Rhode Island: 22 instances, all [Λ]; Connecticut: [Λ] 67, [ɜ] 21, [Λ] 76%; lower New York:⁵ [Λ] 723, [ɜ] 105, [Λ] 87%; upper New York: [Λ] 273, [ɜ] 1413, [ɜ] 84%; New Jersey: [Λ] 413, [ɜ] 46, [Λ] 90%; lower Pennsylvania:⁶ [Λ] 465, [ɜ] 159, [Λ] 75%; upper Pennsylvania: [Λ] 59, [ɜ] 137, [ɜ] 70%; Delaware: [Λ] 23, [ɜ] 4, [Λ] 85%; Maryland: [Λ] 60, [ɜ] 13, [Λ] 82%; District of Columbia: [Λ] 25, [ɜ] 5, [Λ] 83%; Virginia: [Λ] 71, [ɜ] 20, [Λ] 78%; North Carolina: [Λ] 36, [ɜ] 2, [Λ] 95%; South Carolina: 12 instances, all [Λ]; Georgia: [Λ] 20, [ɜ] 3, [Λ] 87%; Florida: [Λ] 69, [ɜ] 10, [Λ] 87%; Alabama: [Λ] 13, [ɜ] 2, [Λ] 87%; Mississippi: [Λ] 17, [ɜ] 2, [Λ] 89%; Tennessee: [Λ] 70, [ɜ] 27, [Λ] 72%; Kentucky: [Λ] 24, [ɜ] 22, [Λ] 52%; West Virginia: [Λ] 11, [ɜ] 18, [ɜ] 62%; Ohio: [Λ] 39, [ɜ] 152, [ɜ] 80%; Michigan: [Λ] 9, [ɜ] 69, [ɜ] 88%; Indiana: [Λ] 3, [ɜ] 40, [ɜ] 93%; Illinois: [Λ] 20, [ɜ] 107, [ɜ] 84%; Wisconsin: [Λ] 5, [ɜ] 47, [ɜ] 90%; Minnesota: [Λ] 5, [ɜ] 36, [ɜ] 88%; Iowa: [Λ] 5, [ɜ] 34, [ɜ] 87%; Missouri: [Λ] 21, [ɜ] 45, [ɜ] 68%; Arkansas: [Λ] 24, [ɜ] 10, [Λ] 71%; Louisiana: [Λ] 64, [ɜ] 8, [Λ] 89%; Texas: [Λ] 58, [ɜ] 41, [Λ] 58%; Oklahoma: [Λ] 7, [ɜ] 9, [ɜ] 56%; Kansas: [Λ] 10, [ɜ] 21, [ɜ] 68%; Nebraska: [Λ] 7, [ɜ] 26, [ɜ] 79%; South Dakota: [Λ] 1, [ɜ] 14, [ɜ] 93%; North Dakota: [Λ] 1, [ɜ] 9, [ɜ] 90%; Montana: 8 instances, all [ɜ]; Wyoming: 5 instances, all [ɜ]; Colorado: [Λ] 4, [ɜ] 36, [ɜ] 90%; New Mexico: [Λ] 2, [ɜ] 10, [ɜ] 80%; Arizona: [Λ] 4, [ɜ] 55, [ɜ] 93%; Utah: [Λ] 3, [ɜ] 10, [ɜ] 67%; Idaho: [Λ] 2, [ɜ] 6, [ɜ] 75%; Nevada: 4 instances, all [ɜ]; California: [Λ] 14, [ɜ] 97, [ɜ] 87%; Oregon: 8 instances, all [ɜ]; Washington: 16 instances, all [ɜ].

It is obvious from the above that the coverage is far less complete in some areas than in others. In the northeast, from Maine south to Delaware and Maryland, and west to Ohio, most of the counties are represented, and there are few blank spaces on the county map. Elsewhere the coverage is more spotty, and conclusions must be more tentative. In general, however, the distribution suggests the following map, on which the heavy broken line divides the [Λ] territory on the south and east from

5. For this study lower New York includes Long Island, New York City, and the Hudson-valley counties of Dutchess, Greene, Orange, Putnam, Rockland, Ulster, and Westchester. Along the northern and western boundaries of this area the two types have approximately equal distribution. Upper New York includes the rest of the state.

6. This includes about two thirds of the area, and considerably more than two thirds of the population, of the state; it runs up to the southern boundaries of Wayne, Lackawanna, Wyoming, Sullivan, Lycoming, Clinton, Center, Clearfield, Jefferson, Clarion, Venango, Mercer, and Lawrence Counties; upper Pennsylvania includes the rest of the state.



The pronunciation [ʌ] predominates east and south of the broken line; [ɜ], north and west.

the [ɜ] territory on the north and west. The line will presumably have to be rectified here and there as more evidence accumulates. It is significant, I believe, that this line shows a close relationship to another line which I drew to divide [ɑ] territory on the south and east from [ɔ] territory on the north and west for such words as *forest*, *orange*, and *horrid*.⁷ In general, the [Λ-ɜ] line runs somewhat west of the [ɑ-ɔ] line, particularly in Pennsylvania, where there is a large area in which [Λ] and [ɔ] predominate. The significance of the Vermont-Texas line in the linguistic geography of America, and perhaps in its social geography, becomes considerably greater than has heretofore been realized.

7. See the map in my article, 'The Dialectal Significance of the Non-Phonemic Low-Back Vowel Variants before R,' *Studies in Speech and Drama in Honor of Alexander M. Drummond* (Ithaca, 1944), p. 249.

JOTTINGS

The earliest known date for *walkie-talkie* is given as 1940 in the *Britannica Book of the Year 1944*, p. 770. It is possible that the term is older than 1940 and that Jake Falstaff was using a familiar name in the following quotation from *Jacoby's Corners*, published in 1938:

The pig scolded, she berated the cow. The cow paid no attention.

'That's their game,' Uncle Valentine said. 'We call that cow *Walky Talky* Jenny. She walks around that barnyard all day. Just a-singing and a-talking thirteen to the dozen.'

George Huffman of Broken Bow, Nebraska, is the inventor of the *Geep*, an automobile made by grafting a few parts of a popular-make automobile on his motorcycle. It has two wheels in front and one in the rear. The body is mainly of plywood construction. It has head and rear lights, controlled ventilation, shock absorbers, brakes, etc., weighs 85 pounds, and its inventor

claims 35 to 45 miles a gallon of gasoline for it. He first constructed it in the late 1930's.

A *snake of cotton* was defined by Corporal Hyman Goldberg in a letter to *Yank, the Army Weekly*, June 15, 1945. He wrote of a custom followed in his home town, Memphis, Tennessee: "'Snake" hunts—a snake is a long, round bale of cotton made up of waste salvaged from floor and the street—go on all the time, and money from the sale of snakes goes for free milk for children.' Is the term peculiar to Memphis or used elsewhere?

New Jersey seems to like the verb *spark*. *Progress*, a booklet issued by the New Jersey Council, Trenton, used the word several times in a sense not that ordinarily given it. Here are two examples: 'Treasurer Toby Stern *sparks* to New Jersey's settled, crystal-clear policy on industry.' '*Sparked* he: "New Jersey is a tight 17,000 mile network of roads mapped in red."'

QUOTATIONS AUGMENTING THE 'DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN ENGLISH'

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THE FOLLOWING list is a random selection from my file of some five thousand quotations of Americanisms antedating the material in the *Dictionary of American English*. As circumstances permit, I hope to furnish articles on words from the Spanish, antedating the *DAE* (or entirely missing therein); gold rush terms; gambling terms; and a list of earlier citations of words for which Mark Twain has been given credit in the *NED* and *DAE*.

ASSIZE. *2. [*DAE*, last quot., 1727.] 1774 N.Y. *Gazette* 3 Jan. p. 1/1 ASSIZE OF BREAD. A White Loaf of the finest FLOUR, to weigh 1 lb. 8 oz. 1/2, for 4 Coppers. 1830 *Florida Herald* (St. Augustine) 14 July p. 3/4 ASSIZE OF BREAD. THE price of Flour being seven dollars the 6 1/4 cent loaf is required to weigh 20 and a half oz. 1846 *Phila. Public Ledger* 2 July p. 1/6 (Headline:) ASSIZE OF BREAD IN WASHINGTON.

+BULLGINE. A locomotive. [*DAE*, 1889.] (Apparently a Negroism, surviving in folk songs. Term familiar in *Trail Riders'* campfire songs, Canadian Rockies, 1945.) 1848 *Negro Forget-me-not Songster* p. 62 Clar de track, de bullgine's coming. 1862 *Sacramento Union* 31 May p. 1/3 The 'big bugs' among them have concluded to 'butt the bull-gine off the bridge,' if they can. 1868 *Canteen Songster* p. 50 The people were a running all around, Crying dat de Bulgine come to town!

+ +2. A steam engine in general. 1848 *Negro Forget-me-not Songster* p. 58 Going ober to Hobuc, in de steamboat, De bulgine busted and we all got afloat! 1849 *Howe Glee Book* p. 71 He swallowed two small rail roads wid a spoonful of ice cream, And a locomotive bulgine while dey blowing off steam.

+CALIFORNIAIZED. [*DAE*, 1873.] 1847 *Calif. Star* (S.F.) 28 Aug. p. 2/3 It is illustrative of the predominant passion in *Californiaized* Yankees, however, and

how absorbing is this selfish 'love of gain.'

+CHURCH-BURNER. [*DAE*, quoting a speech of Rep. Colfax, 1856, erroneously terms this a humorous variant of *Barn-Burner*. This was the name of an early-day gang of Philadelphia rowdies, similar to the *Plug-Uglies* of Baltimore and *Dead-Rabbits* of N.Y.] 1849 N.Y. *Post* 14 May It is now well known to the police that several persons from Philadelphia, known as 'Killers' and 'Church Burners,' were in the city participating with the rioters on Thursday night.

+ +COOP, CLEAR THE. [*DAE*, 1907: *Fly the coop*.] 1839 *Columbian Register* (New Haven, Conn.) 2 Apr. p. 4/5 A tin pedlar has cleared the coop, hook and line, bob and sinker, without being able to square his accounts! 1845 S. Judd *Margaret* p. 173 'Clear the coop!' cried all hands. 1855 *Town Talk* (S.F.) 27 Mar. p. 1/5 The dandy very sensibly 'cleared the coop,' and vanished up-stairs.

+COW COUNTY. [*DAE*, only example, 1878.] (Phrase still used in Calif., referring to rural districts in general, 'the sticks.') 1850 S.F. *Herald* 16 Jan. p. 2/4 The last spell of rain and wind, lasting some thirty days, has brought the subject home to every man's mind in the 'cow counties.' 1854 *Dem. State Journal* (Sacramento) 13 June p. 2/3 We farmers and laboring men in the 'cow counties,' are unable to see how Senator Crenshaw

and Mr. Gordon can excuse themselves. 1856 S.F. *Bulletin* 25 Aug. p. 2/2 [Our legislators are] required to travel farther than necessary to reach the 'cow counties,' as the grazing districts are called. 1857 Santa Barbara *Gazette* 12 Mar. p. 2/2 We are bound to let our light *shine*, notwithstanding this is called a 'cow county.' 1861 L.A. *Star* 16 Nov. p. 2/3 GRASS.—Great necessity of a cow county, will, we hope, have no objection to come forward and show itself on our plains. 1895 Harte *Clarence* p. 13 'I'm not the kind to be fooled by anybody from the Cow Counties—and that's the Robles Ranche.'

+CROOKNECK. [DAE, 1874.] 1812 A. Simmons *Amer. Cookery* p. 33 A crookneck or winter squash pudding. 1840 N.Y. *Mirror* 18 Apr. p. 343/2 We 'hasten slowly' in the growing of squashes . . . When the crook-necks look upon the feats of their forefathers, they must feel humbled.

DETECTIVE. [DAE, 1870; NED, 1856.] 1854 *Pioneer* (S.F.) Dec. p. 329 He knows that sooner or later his fate—the Detective—will overtake him, and he must fly or succumb. 1856 S.F. *Bulletin* 23 Oct. p. 1/2 Several detectives set out to look for the swindler. 1863 Browne *Four Years in Secessia* (1865) p. 298 During the reign of General Winder and his Baltimore plug-ugly Detectives, the grossest abuses were practiced. 1866 *Congr. Globe* (App.) 5 Apr. p. 187/2 A detective has got to use all subterfuges in the world, without compromising himself in a lie, in getting any information he wants.

attrib. [DAE, from 1883.] 1851 S.F. *Herald* 8 Aug. p. 2/1 The Anti-Vigilance organ . . . consents that the Committee should act as a Detective Police. 1854 *Pioneer* (S.F.) Dec. p. 330 The advantages of such a plan in giving efficiency and celerity to the services of a Detective Force are . . . manifest. 1860 Holmes *Professor's Story in Atlantic* (June p. 740/2) Mr. Thompson, known in other quarters as Detective Policeman Terry, got very little by his trouble. 1864 *Varieties* (S.F.) 20 Aug. p. 2/2 Dr. R—, the 'confidential' of W., F. & Co., has set Sanborn, detective officer, to work to discover who your correspondents are here.

ELECTRIC LIGHT. [DAE, 1841; NED, 1843.] 1823 N.Y. *Mirror* 2 Aug. p. 3/3 Professor Meinacle of Halle, has just succeeded in producing a brilliant illumination by means of electric light, with the aid of artificial air enclosed in glass tubes.

+FATHER OF RIVERS. [DAE, 1812.] 1758 Le Page Du Pratz *Hist. of Louisiana* (1763) I, 202 By some savages of the North it is called *Meact-Chassipi*, which literally denotes, *the ancient Father of Rivers*, of which the *French* have, by corruption, formed *Mississipi*.

+FIRE COMPANY. 1. [DAE, 1777.] 1744 *Penna. Gazette* 14 Dec. p. 4/2 The Union Fire-Company of Philadelphia, do hereby offer a Reward of FIVE POUNDS to him or her who shall discover . . . any of the Persons concern'd in removing the said Nossels.

+GUYASCUTUS. [DAE, 1855.] 1846 *Ore. Spectator* 15 Oct. p. 1/2 The Guiascutus is not only remarkable for his ferocious appearance, but for the terrible tones of his voice.

++HELVE, FLY OFF THE. [DAE, 1833; *Fly off the handle.*] 1820 Petersburg (Va.) *Republican* 3 Mar. p. 2/5 Mr. Clay . . . is almost headlong in his eloquence. To use a *back-woods* similitude, he seems as tho' he would '*fly off the helve*,' during the paroxysms of declamation.

+HOT CAKES, TO SELL LIKE. [DAE, 1860.] 1839 Briggs *Harry Franco* I, 74 'You had better buy 'em, Colonel,' said Mr. Lummocks, 'they will sell like hot cakes.' 1851 S.F. *Picayune* 3 Dec. p. 1/6 They went 'like hot cakes.' 1853 *Mt. Echo* (Downieville, Calif.) 12 Feb. p. 1/1 Then, whilst the liquor went round, and the boys got merry, the packer's flour went 'like hot cakes.'

++KROOSKEN. A small cup or pitcher. [Cf. Russian *kroushka*, from German *krug*, a pitcher.] 1829 N.Y. *Courier* 15 June p. 2/1 After the barbacue was over and Mr. Clay had washed down the pig and a kroosken of apple-toddy, he mounted a porch and said grace in a speech.

LOAN OFFICE. +2 [DAE, 1848: *an office that puts state funds out on loan.*] (Such offices appear to have had their

counterparts in colonial days.) 1758 *Penna. Gazette* 12 Jan. p. 2/3 THE TRUSTEES of the GENERAL LOAN-OFFICE of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, do hereby give Notice to the Mortgagors who are in Ar-rears. 1775 *Penna. Eve. Post* 23 Feb. p. 56/2 IN order to prevent disappointment to those, who may desire to borrow Money from the Loan Office . . . the TRUSTEES hereby give Notice that the whole Sum . . . which by Law was directed to be emitted upon Loan, is now entirely let out. 1830 *L. I. Farmer* (Jamaica, N.Y.) 9 Sept. p. 3/5 The above property to be sold to satisfy a mortgage given by Robert Whaley to the New Loan Office in Queens County.

||OCEANQUAKE. (See quot.) 1863 *Calif. Farmer* 8 May p. 33/2 A prevailing opinion is, that an earthquake, or perhaps an oceanquake, has thrown [the fish] into confusion, and killed millions of them.

+PAPER CARRIER. [*DAE*, 1855.] 1797 *Village Messenger* (Amherst, N.H.) 24 Jan. p. 1/1 *He informs them that his engagements as paper carrier are nearly discharged, and begs them to discharge to him their engagements as paper takers.*

+PIEDMONT. [*DAE*, 1855.] 1755 *Evans Analysis of General Map* p. 7 Between the South Mountain and the hither Chain of the Endless Mountains . . . is the most considerable Quantity of valuable Land that the English are possess of; and runs through New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Mariland and Virginia. It has yet obtained no general Name, but may properly be called *Piemont*, from its Situation.

++ROCKS. Slang: money. [*DAE* erroneously quotes this (1885) as meaning *mineral ore, or specimens of ore.*] 1846 *Robb Streaks of Squatter Life* p. 166 If Tom had no *pocket full of rocks*, it was because he had stowed them all in his *trunk*. 1849 *N.O. Picayune* 3 Feb. p. 2/2 He held wonderfully fine hands, and the first day raked down quite a pile of 'rocks.' 1850 *Calif. Courier* (S.F.) 22 July p. 2/4 A citizen of this city returned on the steamer, Saturday night, from the mines, where he had been for some weeks, with 'his pocket full of rocks.' 1852 *Mt. Echo* (Downie-

ville, Calif.) 19 June p. 1/2 Mr. Drake, the elder was returning home, with his 'pocket full of rocks,' from Chicago, whither he had been to dispose of a load of game. 1855 *Golden Era* (S.F.) 25 Mar. p. 2/3 All we want now is plenty of 'rocks in our pockets,' and then we shall be as happy as a shell fish at an elevated stage of the briny deep. 1857 *S.F. Call* 26 Mar. p. 4/1 There he lost his every mopus: . . . All the rocks and all the mint drops . . . All his MONEY, in a word.

+SANTA CLAUS. 1. [*DAE*, 1823.] 1808 *Irving in Salamagundi* 25 Jan. p. 407 The noted St. Nicholas, vulgarly called Santaclaus—of all the saints in the kalendar [was] the most venerated by true hollanders, and their unsophisticated descendants.

+SAPAEN. [*DAE*, 1754.] c1612 *Strachey Dict. Indian Lang.* (1849) p. 183 *Asapan, a hasty pudding.* 1671 *Ogilby America* p. 175 Their general Food is Flesh, Fish, and *Indian Wheat*, which stamp'd, is boyl'd to a Pap, by them call'd Sappaen. 1679 *Danckaerts Voyage in Pub. L.I. Hist. Soc.* (1867) p. 217 They take the finest for bread, and the other for different kinds of groats, which, when it is cooked, is called *sapaen* or *homma*.

+TALKING MACHINE. [*DAE*, 1891.] 1844 *N.O. Picayune* 18 Mar. p. 38/2 'Why don't you go see the Talking Machine, and take little Matilda along with you?' 'Because, my dear . . . I every day hear you, and I always prefer works of nature to those of art!'

+U. STATES. [*DAE*, sole example, 1837; marked *rare*.] (This semi-abbrev. was actually very common in the early days of the Republic.) 1807 *Staunton* (Va.) *Eagle* 4 Sept. p. 3/4 In what situation will the merchants of Halifax be, if active and open war shall take place between the U. States & Great Britain? 1809 *Centinel* (Winchester, Va.) 18 Feb. p. 2/1 Provision ought to be made by law for interdicting all foreign armed ships from the waters of the U. States. 1810 *Natchez* (Miss.) *Chronicle* 28 May p. 1/3 It shall be lawful for the President of the U. States . . . to cause a subscription to be made to the stock of the said corporation. 1813 *Fed-*

eral Republican (Georgetown, D.C.) 18 Jan. p. 1/4 This subject, sir, has been lately brought in official form before the president of the U. States for his decision. 1814 *Mo. Gazette* 29 Oct. p. 2/4 Officers of the British squadrons on the Eastern coast of the U. States, are demanding requisitions in money on the different towns as a ransom. 1823 Bradford *Theatrical Amusements* p. 6 Extract from the pastoral letter of the Presbyterian church in the U. States for 1818. 1838 F. Hall *Letters* (1840) p. 137 I have gold, silver, and U. States Bank bills. 1847 Cumings *Western Pilot* p. 3 The U. States snag-boats . . . removed a great many dangerous snags. 1850 Sonora (Calif.) *Herald* 28 Dec. p. 2/1 We are in favor

of . . . speedy settlement of all Mexican or Spanish grants of land by appeals to the Courts of the U. States having jurisdiction. 1851 S.F. *Herald* 15 Dec. p. 2/4 General Flores . . . is a great admirer of Washington and the U. States. 1852 S.F. *Picayune* 17 Feb. p. 1/6 We have long been desirous . . . of presenting a detailed and statistical history of the operations of the Board of U. States Indian Commissioners.

+WET HEN, MAD AS A. [*DAE*, 1881.] 1823 Doddridge *Dandy and Backwoodsman* p. 42 Every body that was not ax'd was mad as a wet hen. 1849 N.O. *Picayune* 19 June p. 2/5 The old lady was as 'huffy as a wet hen.'

THREE NOTES ON AMERICAN ENGLISH

1. 'Shang'

The *DAE* does not give the form *shang* for ginseng, but it is more or less extensively the form used by shang-diggers (*DAE* 'sang-diggers'). I have heard a man in Vermont say, 'and there I found *shang*,' with such emphasis on the word as clearly connoted a gratifyingly large quantity; and I have seen *shang-digger* in print with reference to mountains further south than Vermont. My Vermonter defined shang to me as 'jing-shang.'

2. 'Recollection'

For the word *recollection* in the sense of 'collectedness, composure,' America can furnish an example

later than the *NED* has found. See Cooper's *Pathfinder* (1840), Chapter 20, end of fourth paragraph: 'she felt the great necessity that existed for preserving her recollection, and of acting with steadiness and discretion.'

3. 'Unfellowship'

The Apple Creek Anti-Mission Association of Illinois in 1830 declared 'an unfellowship with foreign and domestic missionary and Bible societies, Sunday schools and tract societies, and all other missionary institutions.' So it is quoted in Sweet's *Religion on the American Frontier*, pp. 64-66, as cited in Clark's *The Small Sects in America*, p. 242, where I find it.

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EDITORIALS AND REVIEWS

'THE AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGE'

SIDNEY J. BAKER, the author of *The Australian Language*,¹ is a journalist and lecturer who has already written two books on the English of Down Under, *New Zealand Slang* (1940) and *A Popular Dictionary of Australian Slang* (1941). Mr. Baker's new book, like Mencken's on American English, is both a valuable collection of materials and a history and interpretation of the distinctive features of a rapidly changing language. He begins with the convicts of 1788 and comes down to the slang of World War II. The words discussed are grouped under various headings, such as the soil, the bush, sheep and cattle, traveling and tramping, the city, the underworld, flora and fauna, the aborigines and pidgin English, the Australian accent, and the use of the Australian idiom in literature. There is a good index of words and phrases and a second index of subjects and names.

Though Australian English has a history only half as long as America's it has developed a rich and racy vocabulary as different from ours as it is from that of England. A few Australianisms have recently become familiar in this country, for instance *dinkum*, 'genuine,' 'reliable,' 'fair,' *bonzer*, 'first-rate,' and *larrikin*, the Australian hoodlum with characteristics of his own. The vast majority of the words discussed were quite unknown to me. Reading these strange terms and unusual locutions I realized for the first time how an Englishman must feel when confronted with Americanisms and American slang.

The Australian vocabulary is of diverse origin. Some of the terms are borrowed from America: *bonzer* is said to be a corruption of *bonanza*. Mr. Baker scrupulously points out the possible origins of *fossick*, 'to dig for gold,' 'rummage around,' and *larrikin* in English dialects. In the case of *cobber*, 'fellow,' 'mate,' it is perhaps unnecessary to admit an English dialect source, since the verb *cob* 'to take a liking to,' which he cites, is recorded only once in the *English Dialect Dictionary*, with the comment that it is unknown to other correspondents. *Bush* is said to have come via the Cape of Good Hope from Dutch *bosch*, and *clinah*, one of many words for girl or sweetheart, is nothing but German (*die*) *Kleine*. Naturally a great number of words are derived from the aboriginal languages: *lubra* 'a (native) girl'; *corroboree*, 'a festivity'; *billabong*,

1. *The Australian Language*. By Sidney J. Baker. Sydney and London: Angus and Robertson, 1945. xii, 425 pp.

'a backwater.' But just as in this country we both adopted native Indian words (*squash, hickory*) for new things and stretched or combined our own English inheritances to fit the new environment (*range, cowboy*), so the Australians took from the natives *kangaroo, boomerang*, and *jackeroo*, but found new uses for old words in *digger, stockman*, and *honey-ant*. Each type of word, aboriginal and English, may wander far from its original sense. Thus a *cockatoo farmer* or *cockatooer* is said to have been so called because the small farmer picked up a meagre livelihood as the cockatoo picks up a few grains of corn. The abbreviation *cocky*, 'small farmer,' has now supplanted the fuller form and is used in a great number of expressions—*cocky's string* is fencing wire—and even as a verb. The acacia is regularly called *wattle* because this plant was generally used for wattled huts in the early days. Mr. Baker is inclined to think that the frequency of certain endings in the Australian languages, those appearing in English as *-ie* and *-oo*, for example, has influenced Australian slang and accounts for the many abbreviations of English words with those endings: *mozzie*, 'mosquito,' *prossie*, 'prostitute,' *trezzie*, 'three-pence,' *afto*, *arvo*, 'afternoon,' *evo*, 'evening,' *beauto*, *commo*, 'communist,' *botto*, 'bottle.'

The Australian dislike of elegance and affectation leads to a general 'low-browism' of expression and a careless enunciation that Mr. Baker deplores. He is suspicious, and rightly, of the theory that accounts for the Australian accent by lineal descent from the Cockney, but he recognizes certain resemblances between the two. Australian English, like American English at an earlier stage, is a type of colonial English which is developing characteristic pronunciations of its own, but it is by no means a unified speech either socially or geographically. In the chapter on the Australian accent Mr. Baker ventures into phonetic analysis, where Mr. Mencken feared to tread, and provides tables showing the direction in which vowels move away from Southern (British) English. Thus [ɪ] is pulled by [ɪ] in the direction of [ʌ] and one hears [malk] for *milk* and [ʃalans] (Mr. Baker's transcription) for *shillings*. He attributes the smaller range of vowel-sounds than is found in British English to the fact that Australians close their mouths more than Englishmen. There are interesting observations and illuminating remarks in this chapter, but two faults appear in the general treatment. In giving instances of deviation from Southern English Mr. Baker tends to cite the pronunciations of particular words rather than to illustrate characteristic developments with many examples. As examples of the tendency to change [i] as in *bead, meet, sea* to [ɛ] he cites *economics, tenet, evolution, amenities*, all of which have [ɛ] for [i] in the stressed vowel, just as in American

English. He evidently assumes that the British pronunciation must be the original in each case and disregards the influence of spelling. Such variants are quite different in character from the Australian diphthongization of [i] to [ɐɪ] in *tea* and *sweet*, which he mentions next. Another fault is that Mr. Baker's effort at pure description is constantly colored by his desire to improve the slovenly Australian pronunciation. He often writes about the mutilation, corruption, and degeneration of vowels. His analysis is not sufficiently thorough to make the 'summary of vowel-changes' helpful, and one is merely puzzled by finding in the summary: i > ij, ɛɪ, iə, ɪi, eɪ, eɪj; ou > ʌʊ, ʊʌ, ʌə, ɒ, ə, ɜ, ʊə, ʊʌ, ʌʊ, əʊ.

This rather confused picture of Australian sounds may be due to constant modification in the direction of standard British English on the part of many people. It seems certain that educated Australians often have much less self-confidence about their native accent than educated Americans. Australia has not had time to outgrow its colonial status in this respect, and Mr. Baker, though just as patriotic as Mr. Mencken about his country's right to an independent vocabulary, is much less certain than Mencken of the propriety of the native pronunciations and idioms. In fact Mr. Baker is so appalled at the bad grammar and pronunciations of his fellow-countrymen that he includes in his condemnation 'it isn't that bad,' certainly good colloquial English in America; *surveillance* (for *surveillance*), an older pronunciation recognized by the *NED* and the only one given by Wyld; and *spiritous* (for *spirituous*), which occurs as early as Milton's prose. Still it must be admitted that the corruptions of words he has culled from the speech of newspapermen, editors, aldermen, and playwrights, are pretty horrifying; and he may be right in saying that there are extraordinary perversions of words not only among uneducated people, but among leaders of public thought.

The Australian Language is obviously the fruit of many years of collection and close observation. The author's own familiarity with Australian English is balanced by a knowledge of history, and his patriotic zeal is discriminating. He has produced an excellent book of permanent value.

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A COLLECTION OF NEGRO FOLKLORE

THE IMPORTANCE of *Lay My Burden Down*¹ as a social document overshadows its very real value to the student of language. It has been

1. *Lay My Burden Down*. Edited by B. A. Botkin. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. xxi, 286 pp.

selected and compiled from over ten thousand MS. pages of materials which form the Slave Narrative Collection of the Federal Writers Project. These were collected by writers of the Project in interviews with over three hundred former slaves during 1936, 1937, and 1938.

In the 269 pages of printed text to which this bulk has been reduced, Mr. Botkin has thrown his main emphasis on human values. No student of the social history of the United States will be content to pass over this fine record in which ex-slaves themselves summon up remembrance of things past and vividly re-create a well lost era. The book is packed with the stuff of reality.

The picture of slavery is not pretty. Undeniably there were some 'good' masters—kindly men and women who treated their slaves well because that was their natural way of dealing with everybody. Others refrained from abuse of valuable human property for purely economic reasons. But there are many records of callousness and cruelty—of families broken forever by the sale of husband, wife, or young children; of beatings with the cat-o'-nine-tails that left the victims scarred for life; of neglect in illness to avoid spending money for a doctor; and of outright murder, though killing a slave was not considered murder then.

All these details, and more, have been set down in a first-rate job of reporting. The writers who heard and recorded these old unhappy far-off things knew what they were about. They vary, of course, in their efforts to convey the phonetic patterns of words. But these are frequently impossible wholly to communicate, even with the elaborate symbols of the professional phonetician. And though the writers had been warned against this pitfall, it is too much to expect a person who is responsive to language to quell his urge to show how words sound.

Truth to idiom, however, has been richly achieved. All the qualities of 'folk-say' are there—in figure of speech, tone, rhythm, turn of phrase and sentence. Any reader of the book who has listened perceptively to the talk of southern Negroes will realize at once that this is the real thing, that here are real people talking. But only those who have tried to put this speech on paper will realize what a taxing job it is to do.

For illustration, the following excerpt is quoted from the life story of an old Negro named Cato, in Alabama:

I'm home today 'cause my little old dog is lost, and I has to stay round to hunt for him. I been going every day on the truck to the cotton patches. I don't pick no more, 'count my hands git too tired and begin to cramp on me. But I go and set in the field and watch the lunches for the other hands.

I am a hundred and one years old, 'cause I's twenty-eight, going on twenty-nine, a man growed, when the breaking-up come. I'm pretty old, but my folks live that way. My old black mammy lived to be a hundred twenty-five, and my white massa—which

was the brother of my daddy—lived to be a hundred four. He ain't been so long died. My own daddy lived to be very ageable, but I don't know when he died.

The excellence of this sort of reporting makes the student of language regret that at least Part II of the book, the section titled 'Long Remembrance,' was not recorded on wax.

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AMERICAN SAYINGS

HENRY F. WOODS's *American Sayings*,¹ a book of 310 loosely printed pages, makes no claim to be exhaustive. It promises to answer the questions 'Who said it? When? Why?' and does so for about three hundred indigenous American locutions. Much matter of interest is to be found in it; but much, too, is not included. Perhaps had it been more ambitious, it would have been less publishable and less saleable. And many common sayings may have been omitted because their pedigree is unknown and the editor's three questions could not be answered definitely for them.

In his short introduction the editor does not state what were his governing principles in selecting his sayings. We are not told what delimitations he imposed on himself. He groups his entries under four headings: Political and Civil (124 pp.); War (64 pp.); Sociological and Economic (71 pp.); Popular (18 pp.). Their arrangement is not alphabetical, but expressions are found easily by consulting the index. There is a bibliography in which books telling of presidents and statesmen loom large. Of books of quotations only the latest edition of Bartlett's (1937) and Burton Stevenson's vast *Home Book of Quotations* are listed. There is no mention of H. L. Mencken's *American amassings*, not even of his *New Dictionary of Quotations*, and no mention of the *DAE*, valuable in establishing chronology. Apparently Mr. Woods made his book independently, though consultation of the works of other collectors would have enhanced its usefulness and more than filled the blank spaces on so many pages. One entry to a page is his printer's practice.

By and large, the editor's major interest lies in political sayings and here he is up-to-date. His accounts of origins are brief, readable, and apparently dependable. His entries range from 'Give me liberty or give me death' and 'Go West, young man' to 'Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition' and 'Sixty Million Jobs.' Sayings of poets interest him little.

1. *American Sayings; Famous Phrases, Slogans and Aphorisms*. Edited by Henry F. Woods. New York: Essential Books, 1945. ix, 310 pp.

He includes from Emerson only the 'shot heard round the world.' From Longfellow he has only 'One if by land and two if by sea,' but none of the well-worn lines from the 'Psalm of Life' or even 'Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State.' Lowell's 'What is so rare as a day in June' appears, but not, for example, 'Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne.' There is nothing from Bryant, Poe, Whittier or Whitman. From Emerson's prose only 'Hitch your wagon to a star' is listed, not the familiar sayings from 'Self-Reliance,' such as 'Consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds,' or 'Institutions are the lengthened shadow of one man.'

General McAuliffe's 'Nuts' is given space and 'boon doggles' and 'brain trust' (in the form the English gave it, 'brains trust,') but not Maury Maverick's useful 'gobbledegook' or Mrs. Luce's 'globaloney' or William De Beck's now waning 'horsefeathers.' Mostly slang is avoided and also the sayings of cartoonists having popularity for a time, such as 'Ain't it a grand and glorious feeling!' A few of the missing American sayings that occur to me are: the original Eastman kodak saying, 'You press the button and we do the rest,' the railroad's 'Stop, Look, Listen,' Gelett Burgess's 'I never saw a purple cow,' Westbrook Pegler's 'Tain't right.' Lacking also are 'Let George do it,' 'know-nothingism,' 'trust buster,' 'calamity howler,' 'keep your shirt on,' 'knock the spots off of,' 'take to the woods,' 'settle one's hash,' 'chair warmer,' 'trouble shooter,' 'row up Salt river,' 'hayseed in his hair,' 'shoot off one's mouth,' 'gone where the woodbine twineth,' 'He was her man and he done her wrong,' 'Old Man River just rolling along' probably deserves a place by this time. So does the long list of American expressions involving 'Hell.' Mr. Woods's book is attractive and useful, and it fills a niche of its own. Perhaps a second edition will prove more inclusive.

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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN DIARIES

PROFESSOR William Matthews' bibliography of American diaries¹ is, in a sense, a by-product, though an extraordinarily substantial one, of a proposed work of a related but different nature. In the autumn of 1838, Mr. Matthews began reading early American diaries and journals, using as his guide Mrs. Forbes' bibliography of New England diaries,² with the

1. *American Diaries: An Annotated Bibliography of American Diaries Written Prior to the Year 1861*. Compiled by William Matthews with the assistance of Roy Harvey Pearce. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1945. 383 pp.

2. Harriette M. Forbes, *New England Diaries, 1602-1800* (Topsfield, Mass., 1923).

intention of making a study of the speech of the New England colonists. His first interest was in linguistics. Yet as he read these records of early Americans, he became increasingly aware of their value to historians in many fields and of their interest to the ordinary reader. The book which was his guide was excellent but inadequate. In short order Mr. Matthews found himself committed to the work of compiling a more comprehensive bibliography which should be in turn a guide book for future studies, not only in linguistics but in many fields related to American life.

In scope *American Diaries* is intended to cover all parts of English-speaking America from 1629 to 1860. It indicates the nature and value of individual diaries, gives variations of texts, lists editions of complete texts and of extracts (though all editions and selections obviously could not be included), and calls attention to spellings which may be of particular interest to students of linguistics. As the material for such a bibliography seemed inexhaustible, Mr. Matthews had to set arbitrary limits to his task. He defines a diary as ' . . . a day-by-day record of what interested the diarist, each day's record being self-contained and written shortly after the events occurred, the style being usually free from organized exposition.' He omits all diaries which have not appeared in print.

Within the limits set, abundant material was available. The only satisfactory working method, besides checking through bibliographies and reviews, was to scan every available book which might conceal a diary or journal, and Mr. Matthews has performed this task with commendable industry. To have found every diary or journal would have been impossible. But Mr. Matthews has cast his nets widely and brought them in well laden.

An endless list of American diaries and journals may seem dull. But in actual fact Mr. Matthews' book is a joy to the scholar and the man of imagination. In its pages is the skeleton of American life. And like the dry bones Ezekiel saw in a vision they seem to have had sinews and flesh laid upon them, to be covered up with skin and to have had the breath of life breathed into them until they stand forth an exceeding great army testifying to America's past. There are in the list diaries of voyages and journeys, private and public journals, slave-ship journals, diplomatic journals, the records of Indian commissioners and of agents negotiating peace with the Indians. There are missionary journals and military journals, loyalist diaries, prison diaries, the journals of jurists, physicians, planters, traders and explorers. There are the religious meditations of Calvinist, Quaker, German pietist and Mormon. Some of the names of the diarists are familiar names—Irving, Melville, Hawthorne, Thoreau.

Some call forth a faint memory—the sprightly Madame Knight, the urbane William Byrd. But for the most part the names are unknown, the names of the ordinary people who built America.

American Diaries serves a need. It is a book to which many will turn to find a record of the materials with which they will work in making further studies of American life. It is to be hoped that Mr. Matthews himself will complete the circle and, using his own book as guide, bring to completion his proposed study of the speech of the New England colonists.

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TICKER-TAPE PHONEMICS VS. MOTOR PHONETICS

IF THE unravelling of the complex and rapid articulations of speech is entrusted to the chance dicta of linguists and the approved technique of self-observation with the help of a small mirror for discovering phonemes, the results, warns Professor R. H. Stetson,¹ can lead only to 'a heap of spare parts.'

Stetson discusses the methodology and aims of two rival schools in modern phonology. The phonemecists make the phoneme the essential unit and confine their formulation to a series of linear events, disregarding rate and stress. The 'syllabists' make the syllable the fundamental unit, taking rate and stress into account.

De Saussure stressed the phonic unlikeness of the phoneme to other phonemes, and its function as a differentiator of meanings. Trubetzkoy and his followers emphasized the logical character of the phoneme and extended the method of oppositions to all linguistics. The difference between speech (material) and language (mental) led Trubetzkoy to deny any relation between phonetics and phonology. Stetson regrets that logistic phonemecists eventually made this demarcation absolute, ascribing speech to phonetics and language to phonology, and overlooking the fact that objective observations can be made only on speech.

To Trubetzkoy phonemes are timeless because 'they may indeed be uttered by a process in time, just as the ticker tape is issued, but . . . the patterns are not affected by the producing process' (p. 10) and hence are independent of rate. Stetson says that this neglect of rate nullifies the definition of the phoneme as a meaning differentiator in contrasting pairs. For occasionally such opposition is neutralized by increased rate (*we'll earn* becoming *we learn*) and the phonemes are no longer distin-

1. *Bases of Phonology*. By R. H. Stetson. Oberlin, Ohio: Oberlin College, 1945. 112 pp.

guishable. More obvious difficulties arise in everyday speech. 'Jingles like "Lambs eat oats and goats eat oats and goats eat ivy too" uttered with variations of rate and stress go through a series of changes and shifts of phonemes which no ticker-tape phonemics can account for' (p. 13).

The divergence between these two schools stems, according to Stetson, from their conception of language. Articulate language conveys both intellectual and emotional meanings, is conditioned by human speech, and is essentially a *temporal* process. Symbolic language deals only with intellectual meanings, is developed and manipulated on paper, and is represented *spatially*. Phonemecists derive articulate from symbolic language, while syllabists consider articulate language the primary form. So, when phonemecists treat an articulate language like a paper language solely on the basis of differentiation of symbols and their linear arrangement, the result, Stetson states, is confusion of auditory and articulatory criteria.

Phonemics started as a radical departure from the welter of physiological and acoustic findings of current phonetics. Its goal has been 'to find an organized system of which each phoneme is to be an essential part' (p. 100). Stetson is perhaps unduly severe in characterizing the immediate results as elaborate though bulky and pointless classifications, and in concluding that later phonemecists have merely added more classifications and distinctions. 'Certainly neither phonology nor any of the divisions of linguistics has gained any unity, any guiding principles, any system, from the general applications of de Saussure's oppositions' (p. 100).

Stetson concludes that the way out is to turn to the physiological apparatus, and master the essential physiology of articulation rather than avoid it. The phoneme, being an aspect of articulatory movements, must depend on the language mechanism. The author envisages the development of a motor phonetics, wherein the phoneme becomes the aspect of a factor in the syllable, which in turn is part of the larger movements of breath group and phrase. This is to be based on the organized system of cross-connected, reciprocating articulatory movements produced by the well-defined motor apparatus.

The book, dedicated to the memory of Charles Hall Grandgent, concludes with a bibliography, an appendix on logistic phonemes, and an unfavorable review of Pike's *Phonetics*.

The reviewer favors the idea that phonemecists might profitably turn to speech physiology for possible clues to the solution of problems in phonology. However, he cannot agree wholeheartedly with Stetson, despite the cogent reasoning and convincing analogues of his stimulating book, that the only way is to turn to the physiological apparatus. The

author's proposal, reduced to the simplest terms, requires phonemecists to desert their camp for that of their opponents. Stetson seems to minimize the possibility that syllabists might attentively examine the findings of the phonemecists for a possible clarification of at least the formal problems of phonetics. To the reviewer the course offering greatest probability of progress lies in cooperation between the two schools. But this must be a mutually beneficial rapprochement in which neither side is asked to renounce the very contributions it is best fitted to make.

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SOME COMMENTS ON SPELLING REFORM

The Editor, *American Speech*:

In his 'Letter on Spelling Reform', Pfc. Hugh Morrison confuses many issues. Granted that the pronunciation of most Latin American speakers of Spanish leads to confusion in spelling of *ll* and *y*, *z*, *c* and *s*, *b* and *v*, *h* or no *h*, this is no argument against spelling reform in English. It simply goes to show that Spanish needs some spelling reform, too. In Castilian pronunciation there is no confusion of *ll* and *y*, or of *z*, *c* and *s*, and the possibility of error is reduced to the *b-v* and the *h*. A possible compromise between spelling reform and pronunciation reform would be for Latin Americans to adopt Castilian pronunciation in the schools, and for the Spanish-speaking world to use *b* after consonants or initially and *v* between vowels, which would correspond to the actual pronunciation (with the understanding that the *v* is a bilabial, not a dentolabial spirant); while at the same time *h* could be eliminated in spelling as it has been in pronunciation. From that point on, Spanish would be as close to being a phonetically written language as is Finnish.

When it comes to Italian, Morrison shifts his point of attack to the Italian dialects, which are admittedly numerous and widely diverging. However, it is a fact that anyone speaking standard Italian and not a dialect will have little trouble with the spelling. I left Italy at the age of seven, having had two years of schooling in Rome. During those two years, I learned to read and write Italian correctly. On coming to America, I was both amazed and amused to witness the visual, auditory and mental contortions that went by the name of 'spelling' in American schools. Italian does not even have a word that means 'to spell.' Italian children are taught to syllabify, and once they have learned the written counterpart of their spoken syllabic system, they can apply it to any word they have never seen written before. If dialectal influences creep from their

spoken into their written language, that is a horse of another color, having nothing to do with spelling; it is 'incorrect' speech, not 'incorrect' spelling that is involved (I enclose 'incorrect' in quotes lest the followers of a certain school of linguistics rise up to inform me that 'correct language is what people speak, not what someone thinks they ought to speak').

To compare such speakers with Americans endowed with an eighth-grade education is unfair. The people that would make the spelling errors described by Morrison would, I think, be semi-literates, people with perhaps the equivalent of a year or two of schooling, or, more likely, people who had learned to read and write since coming to the United States. To find their counterpart in America one would have to go to 'Tobacco Road' regions, and pile ignorance and semi-literacy on top of strong dialectalization.

Few Italians or Spaniards of normal intelligence with eight years of schooling would make any mistakes in spelling in their respective languages. The same cannot be said of English speakers, and the fault lies squarely with the divergence between the written and the spoken forms of the English language.

In Spanish and Italian-speaking countries, the process of learning to read and write is over in two years at the most, and thereafter school time is devoted to factual subjects. In English-speaking countries, the process of learning to spell continues through eight grades of elementary school, four grades of high school, is frequently brought up again in college, and is not quite completed even when the student emerges with a Ph.D. degree. A cultured Spanish or Italian speaker may occasionally have to look up the meaning of a word, but we have to look up its spelling as well.

English has no rules by which spelling and pronunciation may be equated. Other western languages have such rules. Some, like Spanish, Italian, German or Russian, may be very simple and with a minimum of exceptions; others, like French, Dutch, or Danish, may be more complicated and involved. But the rules are there. In English, on the contrary, each word is a law unto itself. Shaw upholds 'ghoti' as a possible spelling for 'fish,' on the ground that we can use the *gh* of 'enough,' the *o* of 'women' and the *ti* of 'nation'; Colonel Beard, writing in *This Week*, suggests 'loeyephtheau' for 'righto,' with the *lo* of 'colonel,' the *eye* that you see with, the *phth* of 'phthisis' and the *eau* of 'beau.' Not even Morrison's *llo* for *yo* can compete with this.

If a foreigner undertakes to learn English from its spoken form, he then has to go through the twelve-year spelling process of the English-

speaking schoolboy; if he starts with the written form, he will have to learn the correct pronunciation of each and every word he uses before he can even begin to speak and understand. The only approximation to this situation is to be found in the ideograms of Chinese, which convey not sounds, but meanings.

The adoption of some sort of phonetic spelling would undoubtedly simplify the English-learning process both for our own school children and for foreigners. On the other hand, words which are now perfectly comprehensible to foreigners in their written form, like 'nation,' would lose their ready international identification if phonetically spelt. Perhaps it is the pronunciation of English rather than its spelling that ought to be modified. While this suggestion is even more impractical and difficult of application than spelling reform, it at least serves to show the difficulties that strew the path of 'English as a world language.'

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TWO ANTEDATINGS OF THE *DAE*

The Editor, *American Speech*:

As a slight example of the almost reckless profusion with which your contributors scatter jewels throughout your pages, I would draw attention to the two following antedatings of *DAE* words, not specifically noted as such, contained in the article 'American Wellerisms of the Golden Age,' by B. J. Whiting in your February 1945 issue.

FELLER,² 2. 1895. 1833 J. Neal *The Down-Easters* I, 135.

KEEP, v. +2. +b. *Not to care whether school keeps or not.* 1896. 1852 *Yankee Notions* I, 354.

ST VINCENT TROUBRIDGE

London, England

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AMONG THE NEW WORDS

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IN 'Among the New Words' for December, 1945, it was stated that the next installment would contain more words 'brought into being through the airplane.' Consequently, more of these words will be found in the glossary of this issue. To these are added some illustrations of another class of words, abbreviations. The two groups are thrown into one alphabet in the glossary; here it is proposed to make some comments on each group separately.

It is a commonplace that this is an air age, that the war just fought was an air war. One is therefore not surprised at the many coinages reflecting the influence of the airplane. This influence is reflected not only in the names and types of the planes themselves but in the many activities connected with aviation. Thus the many kinds of bombs and of bombing described in this and the preceding installment of 'Among the New Words' may be said to be due to the airplane; most of them, indeed, would be impossible without the plane. Even the atomic bomb, though the first one was not dropped from a plane, by its very nature could hardly have been conceived in a frame of reference that did not assume aircraft. An attempt has been made to include many types of bombing in these two glossaries. Other types, for which there is still insufficient evidence for an entry, include atomic bombing, fire-bombing, pinpoint bombing, scatter bombing, and tactical bombing.

It hardly need be said that these words are but a small selection of the many which have been formed. It is too soon to assess the contribution of aviation to vocabulary, especially during the past five or six years; that must await a more complete dictionary of recent words than is at present available. But there is some suggestive evidence. During the past several years, the *New International Yearbook* and the *Britannica Book of the Year* have published lists of recent word coinages. Of the total number of new terms appearing in the 1945 yearbooks approximately 19% may be said to describe developments due to the airplane. This seems like a high proportion, but many of the words may not survive.

Professor Bolinger noted the use of the combining form *-master* in trade names when he was in charge of this department (*Am. Sp.*, 18:147). Another combination, undoubtedly a trade name, appears in the *Sky-master*, made by the Douglas Aircraft Company. The same company also makes a *Globemaster* (*Time* 17 Sept. 1945 p. 81/3).

Abbreviations have played a part in American English for a long time. 'The characteristic American habit of reducing complex concepts to the starkest abbreviations,' writes Mr. Mencken in *The American Language*, 1936 (p. 92), 'was already noticeable in colonial times, and such highly typical Americanisms as *O. K.*, *N. G.*, and *P. D. Q.* have been traced back to the early days of the republic.' By 1889 the habit was a subject for comment by John S. Farmer, who observed how much more widely abbreviations were used in America than in Europe (*ibid.*, pp. 204-205). Mr. Mencken himself devotes several pages to them in *The American Language*, where he notes the importance of World War I and the New Deal (with its many alphabetical agencies), and he adds to his discussion in *Supplement I* (pp. 410 ff.). Here, drawing on the DAE, he gives the dates of several (for example, *C. O. D.*, 1863) and distinguishes two types: those which, on the model of the English and the Russians, can be pronounced as words; and those which cannot.

The linguistic importance of abbreviations is thus considerable. Professor Bloomfield (*Language*, p. 488) has shown how 'purely graphic devices lead to novel speech forms,' citing in illustration such abbreviations as *prof.* [praf], *lab.* [læb], and *a. m.* ['e'jəm]. How these new speech forms in turn may be translated back into the written word is shown by *kayo* (*K. O.*; *Amer. Lang.*, p. 210), *okeh* (*O. K.*), and, more recently, *Elsie*, for the landing craft, the LC, as it is called (*Life* 19 June 1944 p. 36; *Sat. Eve. Post* 3 June 1944 p. 20/1).

Convenience seems to be a determining factor in the use of abbreviations. This point is made by 'Janus' (*Lond. Spect.* 1 Feb. 1945 p. 108/2), who cites in illustration *UNRRA* and *UNO*, the latter of which he would apparently pronounce [junə]. Some of the acrostics in the glossary must likewise be pronounced as words by those who use them constantly, as: *Jato* ['dʒeto] and *Fido* ['fardo]. Convenience would also play a large part in the popularity of abbreviations in the Army (*Am. Sp.*, 20: 262) and in the Navy. The Navy, for example, uses abbreviations for its various commands (*Cincus*, *Cominch*, etc.); and *Cominch* seems to have supplanted *Cincus* because of the unintended double entendre of the latter ['sɪŋkəs].

What proportion of our vocabulary is supplied by abbreviations? Here are some approximate figures. Webster's table of 5,000 abbreviations is less than 1% of the 550,000 entries stated to be in the dictionary. But of these no more than a third would ever be pronounced as written. An estimate of Mr. Mencken's *Supplement I* gives only .8%; Louise G. Parry's *War Dictionary* (1942) contains 1.8%. A. Marjorie Taylor's *The Language of World War II* (1944), however, contains slightly over 18%, and the two

1945 yearbook lists have about 14.5%. Even if only half of the present crop survives, it would seem that abbreviations are playing a larger part in word formation than ever before.

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The abbreviation 'BN' is used for the Birmingham (Ala.) *News* and 'TN' for the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) *News*.

SYMBOLS: The symbol + before a word or definition indicates an Americanism. A date immediately following a word or definition indicates the time of evidence shown in the DAE, or, if so stated, in another publication. Dates in brackets indicate the time, etc., of British usage. An asterisk after a word indicates that the word is illustrated in British usage before 1600.

+A-BOMB. Atomic bomb; frequent headline form. (Also attrib.)—1945 Omaha *World-Her.* 15 Aug. p. 2/3 A-bomb Believed to Eliminate Navy. BN 16 Oct. p. 20/1 (AP) Maj. Gen. Leslie R. Groves . . . today presented the Army-Navy production 'E' to the University of California, operator of the Los Alamos A-bomb laboratory. 1946 BN 3 April p. 11/1-2 A-Bomb Proposal Analyzed.

+AIR-SEA RESCUE. A method of rescuing airmen forced down on the water. A Dumbo (*q. v.*) locates the men and radios their position. A ship receiving the message will then proceed to the position or an air-sea rescue station will send out a rescue boat. (Also attrib.)—1945 *Time* 9 April p. 62/2 In each carrier plane's air-sea rescue kit is a Celanese rayon-acetate map . . . BN 1 June p. 14/1 (AP) In Navy parlance, a 'Dumbo' is any air-sea rescue plane. *Newsweek* 6 Aug. p. 60/1 The PV-3, an experimental helicopter ordered by the Navy for air-sea rescue and transport. . . 1946 BN 3 April p. 1/6 (AP) Army and Navy air-sea rescue squadrons searched the waters along the coast of Hawaii Island today for 25 school children. . .

+ANTI-G-SUIT. See *G-Suit*.

+ATOMIC BOMB, ATOMBOMB, *n.* An atomic bomb.—1945 Lincoln (Neb.) *Journal* 12 Aug. p. 2/4 The atom bomb is the

most powerful and terrific technical surprise in military history. . . *Life* 20 Aug. p. 17/1 The Atom Bomb and Future War. *Time* 27 Aug. p. 60/2 (quoting *Collier's* newspaper ads.). N. Y. *Daily Worker* 4 Sept. p. 2 Soviet Journal Scores Threats to Use Atombomb for World Mastery.

v. 1945 Lond. *Evening News* 20 Sept. p. 1 The Japanese ship Nagato is to be taken to the U. S. as a 'show piece' and not atom-bombed 500 miles out to sea. TN 12 Dec. p. 12/4 Warships To Be Atom-Bombed. 1946 *This Week* 24 Mar. p. 8/1 I mean the folks who are worried about what is going to happen to Bikini Atoll this May, when the Navy plans to anchor a small fleet there and atom-bomb it.

+ATOMIC BOMB, *n.* A new type of bomb utilizing the atom's nuclear binding energy, which is released by chain bombardment of the nucleus by neutrons. (Also attrib.)—1945 Lincoln (Neb.) *Journal* 6 Aug. p. 1/1 The atomic bomb dwarfs by 2,000 times the blast power of the British 'grand slam' bomb, which weighed approximately 11 tons. TN 7 Aug. p. 2/3 The Nipponese have no defense against threatened atomic bomb attack . . . Lond. *Spect.* 31 Aug. p. 197/2. 1946 *Read. Dig.* May p. 125/1 What would have happened if one of the atomic bombs

we dropped on Japan had been used on New York?

2. *Fig.*—1945 *Sat. Rev. Lit.* 29 Sept. p. 13/1 . . . but President Truman himself put an atomic bomb under its thesis . . . *TN* 5 Nov. p. 6/1 A few scathing references to her personal appearance would be atomic bombs that would turn the trick. 1946 *BN* 14 Jan. p. 1/4 Byrnes Tosses Atomic Bomb In Lap of UNO.

+ATOMIC BOMBER, *n.* 1945 *Sat. Eve. Post* 10 Nov. p. 132/3 . . . this is too small an effort to prepare young men for either war or peace, to recruit the basic material for atomic bombers . . . *TN* 15 Nov. p. 4/4 (AP) . . . an American task force of atomic bombers would mean America need not fear atomic bombing. . .

+BOGEY, BOGIE, *n.* [Cf. OED, s. v. *bogy*, '3. *fig.* An object of terror or dread; a bugbear.' {1865}] See quotes.—1944 *Life* 17 July p. 20 Before supper was over this evening, several 'bogeys'—as unidentified planes are called under such circumstances—were seen approaching from different directions . . . *Sat. Eve. Post* 26 Aug. p. 89/2. Chaplain H. M. Forgy *And Pass the Ammunition* (N.Y. and Lond.: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc.) p. 136 'Bogies!' he shouted. . . 'Sky control reports bogies! . . .' 1945 *Balto. Sun* 16 Mar. p. 4-0/6-7 Out here a bogie is an unidentified plane. It may be friendly or unfriendly. *Fortune* July p. 186. *Sat. Eve. Post* 11 Aug. p. 26/2.

BUTTERFLY BOMB. See quotes.—1944 *Science N. L.* 14 Oct. p. 247/2 Recently they developed a 'butterfly bomb,' with wings that open up as soon as the bomb is released, and act like a parachute to slow its descent. . . . The small but deadly charge explodes a few feet above the ground, showering bits of hot steel on any soldiers within range. 1945 *Lond. Daily Mail* (Transatlantic ed.) 30 May p. 12/1 Experts said that it was an anti-personnel 'butterfly' bomb dropped during a German air raid on the district. . . *Newsweek* 9 July p. 21/3 . . . one of the Germans' most effective weapons was the butterfly bomb, essentially a booby trap dropped from the air. . . 1946 *TN* 13 Mar. p. 4/6

(AP) The Marine Corps Magazine, 'Leatherneck,' lists some of these as . . . butterfly bombs. . .

CREWMAN, *n.* 'A gang laborer, as at a dock. *Eng.*' (NID 1934). See quotes.—1937 *Balto. Sun* 2 July p. 1/6 (AP) Captain Gray . . . will share the 22 3/4-ton Sikorsky flying boat with six other crewmen. 1945 *Science N. L.* 31 Mar. p. 197. *TN* 11 July p. 6/1 (AP) The crewmen changed uniforms for civilian clothing before leaving their planes. . . *Fortune* Aug. p. 207 One crewman was found because a search pilot spotted the man's bare white back as he walked around in a native clearing. *Newsweek* 27 Aug. p. 21/2.

DISPLACED PERSON, DP, D.P., *n.* See esp. quot. from *The Broadcaster*. (Also attrib.)—1944 *Sat. Eve. Post* 22 July p. 14/1 The Symphony of the Refugees . . . , or, as they term these people here, The Symphony of the Displaced Persons. 1945 *B'ham News-Age-Her.* 8 April p. 9-A/2 (NANA) Processing takes some days . . . when German soldiers are discarding uniforms and posing as civilians who are entitled to 'displaced person' status. *Newsweek* 16 April p. 62/1 Tens of thousands of what the Army calls DP's—displaced persons—were sweeping across occupied Germany. *Time* 16 April p. 26/3. *Life* 14 May p. 88A/1 Military authorities know them as DP's, alphabetese for 'displaced person' . . . *The Broadcaster* June p. 7 The real difficulty was and is the care of the slave laborers, men, women and children the Germans had imported from all over Europe to do their work for them. These we call Displaced Persons and for brevity refer to them as DP's. *Lond. Picture Post* 15 Sept. p. 18 I saw an exercise in the registration of D. Ps. 1946 *B'ham News-Age-Her.* 31 Mar. p. 1/7 (Edit. Sect.) Before you see them . . . it is very easy to speak of them as DPs and DP camps.

+DUMBO, *n.* A Navy PBY used for rescue work; any rescue plane. (Also attrib.)—1944 *Sat. Eve. Post* 5 Aug. p. 12/1 Like Walt Disney's elephant with the helicopter ears, its name is Dumbo. 1945 *BN* 1 June p. 14/1 (AP) In Navy parlance, a 'Dumbo' is any air-sea rescue plane. *Time* 16 July p. 22/3 Dumbo rescue planes

could save most of the men who hit the water between Iwo and Saipan . . . *Ibid.* 6 Aug. p. 29/3.

EAM, E. A. M. Ethnikon Apeleutherotikon Metopon; see quotes.—1944 *Time* 16 Oct. p. 45/3 The Greek resistance forces wore the insignia of E. A. M. (left-wing National Liberation Front) or E. L. A. S. (E. A. M.'s fighting arm). *TN* 5 Dec. p. 1/6 (UP) EAM is a leftist political group dominated by Communists and ELAS is its military arm. 1945 *Life* 5 Feb. p. 28/1 The antiroyalist Greek freedom movement, called EAM, contains a hard core of Communists, but more than half of all Greeks supported it. *Lond. Spect.* 21 Sept. p. 265/1.

E. L. A. S., ELAS, *n.* ['elas, 'eləs]. Ellinikos Laikos Apeleutherotikos Stratos; see quotes.—1944 *Time* 16 Oct. p. 45/3 (quoted under EAM). *Newsweek* 4 Dec. p. 60. *TN* 5 Dec. p. 1/6 (UP) (quoted under EAM). 1945 *Christian Sci. Mon. Weekly Mag.* 10 Feb. p. 3/1 Greece has undergone a long series of revolutions and this fighting by ELAS is just the latest revolution in the series. *Lond. Spect.* 21 Sept. p. 265/1.

+ESCORT CARRIER. A small aircraft carrier used in convoys; see quot. 1944 and *baby flat-top* (*Am. Sp.*, 19: 223-4).—1943 *Time* 22 Nov. p. 26/3 That beats a previous high scorer: the escort carrier 'B' . . . , another 'baby flat-top,' and her escorts. 1944 *TN* 21 Feb. p. 1/7 (AP) . . . American shipyards have turned out scores of escort carriers which represent conversion of cargo-type ships into 'baby flat-tops' . . . 1945 *Life* 30 July p. 70/2 An escort carrier and a destroyer were sunk . . . *Read. Dig.* Nov. p. 119/2 The escort carrier was our answer to that. 1946 *BN* 7 Feb. p. 1/2 (AP) Here are the Navy plans for the postwar fleets: Pacific—Nine carriers; nine escort carriers. . .

FACTORY BUSTER, FACTORY-BUSTER, *n.* See quotes.—1944 *Every Week* Mar. 13-7 p. 188 The new six ton missiles have been named 'factory busters.' *Time* 7 Aug. p. 26/1. *B'ham News-Age-Her.* 15 Oct. p. 1/6 (AP) 'Even the old-type, 12,000-pound factory buster detonated on the surface. . .' *Time* 11 Dec. p. 28/3.

FFI, F. F. I., *n.* French Forces of the Interior. (Also attrib.)—1944 *Balto. Eve. Sun* 6 Sept. p. 3/2 (AP) . . . FFI leaders said the order for burning the village was not given by the division's own commander . . . *Life* 2 Oct. p. 102. *Sat. Eve. Post* 28 Oct. p. 17/1 He told them he was . . . assigned to work for the FFI within the Gestapo. 1945 *Sat. Rev. Lit.* 16 June p. 14/3 The Germans had . . . unconditionally surrendered to the F. F. I. before any Allied troops reached the city.

FIDO, *n.* See quotes.—1945 *Newsweek* 11 June p. 53/2 Fido stands for 'Fog Investigation Dispersal Operation.' It was suggested in 1942 by Prime Minister Churchill to Geoffrey Lloyd. . . *Life* 2 July p. 86/2 Fido, which stands for Fog Investigation Dispersal Operation, is a system of gasoline-filled pipes laid around an airfield. When ignited, vaporized gasoline burns from hundreds of jets, dissipates the fog by heating the air. *Think* July p. 30 The experiment, conducted by Fog Investigation Dispersal Operation, affectionately known as 'Fido,' took place . . . at the Christmas season. . . *Read. Dig.* Sept. p. 35. *B'ham News-Age-Her.* 9 Dec. p. 1/1 (Edit. Sect.) The process is known as 'FIDO' which means 'fog investigation dispersal operation.'

+FLYING JEEP, *n.* Name applied to the Aeronca L-3 Defender, the Piper L-4B-4, and the Taylorcraft L-2A (*Winter War Planes of All Nations*, N.Y., Crowell, p. 104); see also 1944 *Sat. Eve. Post* quot.; see *grasshopper* (*Am. Sp.*, 19: 225/1).—1943 *Winter loc. cit.* The Army has found nothing to touch these 'flying jeeps.' 1944 *TN* 17 Feb. p. 4/4 (AP) A cargo of frozen blood rushed by Cub airplane, those flying jeeps of the battle front, saved at least a dozen lives. . . *Sat. Eve. Post* 26 Feb. p. 39 (Vultee adv.) SENTINEL. . . 'Flying Jeep' 1945 *Life* 29 Oct. p. 69/1 Officially designated L-4s, they were known to GIs as 'grasshoppers,' 'puddle jumpers,' 'flying jeeps' and 'putt-putts.'

+GI, G.I., GI JOE, G.I. JOE, *n.* See quotes.—1943 *Time* 15 Nov. p. 11 (letter) I am surprised that you ask for 'a name for soldiers who also serve—behind the front.' . . . That term, of course, is 'G. I.' 1944

Britannica Book of the Year p. 770/1 GI, GI Joe, *n.* An American soldier. GI is to the army as a whole what *doughboy* is to the infantry. (Short for *GI soldier*, -1941.) *adj.* Pertaining to the army services, or ministering to its needs, as 'GI food,' 'a GI dance.' (General issue.) Lond. *Spect.* 5 May p. 400/2 Relations between British other ranks and their equivalents, the American G. I., notoriously vary. . . 1945 *Science N. L.* 3 Feb. p. 74. *Time* 26 Feb. p. 7/1 (Lt. Dave Breger) In the first issue of *Yank*, June 17, 1942, the comic strip G. I. Joe made its debut. . . If anyone can offer documentary evidence of publication of the term 'G. I. Joe' before June 17, 1942 I will cheerfully withdraw my claim. 1946 *Sat. Rev. Lit.* 6 April p. 6/3. It is not news that thousands of GI's made a handsome profit out of selling watches, clothes, and PX items to the Russians. . .

+G-SUIT, *n.* See quotes. Also called *Anti-G Suit*.—1945 *TN* 9 Jan. p. 6/2-3 (NEA) G-suits (the G stands for gravity) have been adopted by the Army Air Forces to prevent fighter pilots from 'blacking out' . . . in steep dives. The anti-gravity pneumatic pants apply pressure to the pilot's abdomen and legs, preventing the blood from pooling in the lower extremities. The pants may be inflated . . . by lung-power or mechanically. *Science N. L.* 1 Jan. p. 57. Balto. *Sun* 1 Mar. p. 1/5 The pilot of the P-80 also will be equipped with the pneumatic 'G-suit' designed by Air Forces engineers to combat the discomforts caused by sharp turns. . . *Read. Dig.* May p. 41/1 The secret was a bit of medical engineering that a few Navy and Army doctors and old fliers had been working on for years, called the G suit. It consisted of five small bladders, a few lengths of hose, and a little trick valve, all weighing less than five pounds. *Ibid.* May p. 42/2 . . . when the first Anti-G suits were developed fliers would not wear them.

HUMP, *n.* See quotes.—1944 *TN* 16 June p. 2/1 (AP) Now every drop [of gasoline] must be flown over the Himalayan 'hump' by the Super Fortresses themselves. *Time* 26 June p. 52/1 They're flying it over 'The Hump'—the towering Himalayas between India and China. It's the most

treacherous 500-mile air route in the world. *Life* 11 Sept. p. 81 A China-Bound C-46 Starts Over The Stormswept Himalayan Hump Which Begins In Burma East of The Salween River With A Cluster Of 18,000-Foot Peaks. 1945 *BN* 25 June p. 7/4 Most used air route in the world is . . . over 'The Hump' between China and India. *Sat. Eve. Post* 11 Aug. p. 21/1.

ISLAND.* 'Anything regarded as resembling an island in position, isolation, etc. . . .' (NID 1934). +See quot. *Life* 30 July.—1945 Richmond (Va.) *News Leader* 19 Mar. p. 22/1 It's [flight deck] so narrow that when planes take off they use the left side of the deck, in order that their right wing tip won't come too close to the 'island' as they pass. *Read. Dig.* May p. 125/1 The carrier's huge looming island blotted out the sky as he brushed past it. *Life* 9 July p. 28/1. *Ibid.* 30 July p. 68/1 Jap Pilot Makes Perfect Hit on 'Suwannee's' Island (Superstructure), The Nerve Center Of The Ship.

+JATO, *n.* See quotes. (Also attrib.)—1944 *Science N. L.* 7 Oct. p. 229/3 Of particular value on the restricted area of carrier flight decks, JATO, as jet-assisted take-offs are known in the Navy, will also be extremely useful for lifting heavily-laden flying boats from the water. 1945 *Sci. Amer.* Jan. p. 25; cited *Read. Guide* 14: 858/1 Jato rocket units being tested for assisted take-offs. Balto. *Sun* 24 Feb. p. 2/1 Jato is navy lingo for 'jet assisted take-off.' *Sat. Eve. Post* 19 May p. 26/1 With the help of a new flying wrinkle called jatos—jet-assisted take-offs—Navy planes are now leaping out of some spectacularly tight spots. *Newsweek* 4 June p. 90.

+JET, *n.* Short for jet-propelled plane. (See *Am. Sp.*, 20: 144-5)—1944 *Collier's* 22 April p. 13/3 . . . the jet . . . is capable of faster flight at low altitudes than any airplane with conventional engines and propeller. Lond. *Eve. Stand.* 28 Oct. p. 2 Battle of the jets is on. *Science N. L.* 28 Oct. p. 277. 1945 *Newsweek* 26 Nov. p. 76/1 A midget jet, small enough to fit in the wing of a regular plane. . .

+LCI, *n.* See quot. *Newsmap*.—1943 *Time* 22 Nov. p. 24/3 The broad wake of a PT, plus the outline of the LCI, must

have looked like bigger game. 1944 *Newsmap* 21 Feb. 2: 44/6 LCI—The landing craft for infantry is one of the larger troop landing types. Troops disembark on the extended ramps on both sides of the bow. Length 155 ft. *Ladies' Home Jour.* June p. 20/1 Mike Bradley was on the bridge of his LCI (Landing Craft, Infantry) dreamily smoking his pipe. . . 1945 *Science N. L.* 10 Feb. p. 90.

+LCM, *n.* See quotes.—1943 *Time* 4 Oct. p. 63/2 As early as 1936 the Navy experimented with tank lighters, and from these tests emerged the LCM (Landing Craft, Mechanized), a 50-footer which carries a crew of four and a medium tank. 1944 *Ibid.* 3 April p. 66/3 LCM (Landing Craft, Medium), in 50- and 56-ft. lengths, for a bulldozer or medium tank. . . 1945 *N.Y. Times Mag.* 7 Jan. p. 9/2 LCM's bear to the trucks metal drums containing vital airplane gasoline.

+LCR, *n.* See quotes.—1944 *Newsmap* 21 Feb. 2: 44/6 LCR—Landing craft-rubber are light, quickly-inflated types used with oars, outboard motors, or towed. Length 12 ft. 1944 *Time* 3 April p. 66/3 LCR (Landing Craft, Rubber), in 12- and 16-ft. sizes, to land patrols of seven to ten men. *Life* 15 May p. 99.

+LCT, *n.* See quotes.—1943 *Newsweek* 27 Sept. p. 23/2 The row of LCT's on the beach belching vehicles looks like a long line of stranded, gasping whales. *Time* 4 Oct. p. 63/2 As an intermediate step between this small boat [LCM] and the ocean-going LST, the Navy designed a 100-ft. LCT (Landing Craft, Tank), which can be carried to zones of operation on the deck of an LST or a cargo vessel. 1945 *Science N.L.* 10 Feb. p. 90.

+LCVP, *n.* See quot. *Newsmap*.—1944 *Newsmap* 21 Feb. 2: 44/6 LCVP—This landing craft for vehicles and personnel is one of the smaller types carried aboard an LST. Length 36 ft. *This Week* 7 May p. 23/2 One by one the LCVP's moved onto the coral shelf and filled themselves with the wounded, and then pulled off and transferred them to larger LCM's. . . *Sat. Eve. Post* 3 June p. 20/1 The Elsie was an LCVP—landing craft, vehicle, personnel—an open box some thirty-five feet long by

nine feet broad. . . 1945 *Time* 2 April p. 26/1.

+LORAN, *n.* See quotes. (Also attrib.)—1945 *Newsweek* 20 Aug. p. 42/3 Loran (Long-Range Navigation) which through radar impulses sent from ground stations, permits the pilot to calculate his position and guide him to the target. *TN* 18 Oct. p. 5/2-5 (NEA) Loran employs pairs of transmitting stations, each of which sends out radio impulses. In the airplane, a loran receiver measures the difference in radio wave travel time in millionths of a second, permitting the navigator to chart his exact position. *Science N. L.* 3 Nov. p. 275/2 Loran gets its name from the fact that it is a long range aid to navigation (*l*o from long, *r* from range, *a* from aid, and *n* from navigation).

+LST, *n.* See quotes.—1943 *Life* 11 Oct. p. 34/2 The first is the LST (Landing Ship, Tank), 327 ft. long and displacing 5,500 tons. This is about the length of a destroyer and the tonnage of an average freighter. 1944 *Sat. Eve. Post* 3 June p. 20/1 . . . a fleet of LST's had gathered to launch the amphibious LVT's. . . *Science N. L.* 4 Nov. p. 295. 1945 *Read. Dig.* June p. 12/1. 1946 *BN* 3 April p. 1/6 (AP) An LST picked up two school children. . .

+MVA, *n.* See quotes.—1944 *New Rep.* 4 Sept. p. 266/2 The antagonisms that flared over the Battle of the Missouri, fought in Washington in a fantastic array of men and bureaus, argued in essence for an MVA. 1945 *Life* 13 Aug. p. 71 MVA stands for Missouri Valley Authority. . . *Collier's* 22 Dec. p. 82/1 Is an MVA—Missouri Valley Authority—on its way into existence? Omaha (Neb.) *World-Her.* 30 Dec. p. 7-A/6 MVA Given Wallace Plug.

+PAC, P. A. C., *n.* The Political Action Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. See *Life* quot. (Also attrib.)—1944 *BN* 8 Aug. p. 1/5 (AP) He also asked an inquiry to determine whether some government officials active in PAC work had violated the Hatch 'no politics' act. *Life* 11 Sept. p. 91/3 Accordingly, at a C. I. O. executive meeting July 7, 1943 they set up P. A. C. as a committee to support labor's interest within the established two-party system. 1945 *Time Index*

1 Jan.-25 June p. 37/3.

+POW, P. O. W., PW, *n.* [pi 'dʌbəlʒə] Prisoner of War. (Also attrib.)—1944 *BN* 1 April p. 1/5 Missing Guns Sought In Nazi Colorado Prison; PWs Strike. *Harper's* Nov. p. 541/2 But some of the poems and prose pieces that came in from the 'P. O. W.'s' (Prisoners of War) tear your heart out. . . 1945 *Time* 19 Mar. p. 20/3.

+SKYMASTER, *n.* See quotes.—1943 *Aviation* June p. 377 A pair of 'Wings for Victory' by Douglas, the new 'Skymaster'—Army C-54 Combat Transport. 1945 *Newsweek* 25 June p. 30/2. *Fortune* Aug. p. 164/1 Twenty per cent are the C-54, the Douglas Skymaster, whose four engines can take a load of three tons across the Atlantic with only one stop for refueling. *Time* 26 Nov. p. 86/2. *San Francisco News* 27 Dec. p. 18/5-8 First of the new, postwar Douglas Skymaster transports will soon be placed in service by Western Air Lines on its San Francisco-Los Angeles-San Diego route.

+SNAFU, *n.* ['snæfu] See quotes.—1942 *Time* 15 June; cited *Am. Sp.*, 18: 77/1 . . . *snafu*, situation normal; all fouled up. 1943 *Am. Mercury* Nov. p. 555/2. 1944 *Life* 16 Oct. p. 20/2 It is a symbol of SNAFU (Situation Normal; All Fouled Up), and a star is rated for each snafued campaign after Guadalcanal. 1945 *TN* 5 Aug. p. 4/3 (AP) The Marines are said to have coined the expression 'SNAFU' (abbreviation [sic] for 'situation normal: all fouled up').

STRATEGIC BOMBING, *n.* [Cf. OED, *s. v. strategy*, 2: ' . . . the art of projecting and directing the larger military movements and operations of a campaign.' {1810-}] See second quot.—1941 *Nineteenth Cent.* Sept. p. 163 Bombing of cities . . . is a true example of strategic bombing. . . 1944 *Scholastic* 3 April p. 24 American bombing is *strategic* bombing. Its aim is to cripple the enemy's industrial power, and destroy much of his economic strength. To do this we must bomb specific targets such as factories, oil refineries, aircraft plants and the like. 1945 *Read. Dig.* May p. 82/2 Consequently, any plan of strategic bombing to destroy Japan's capacity to make war . . . must include the destruction of these thousands of family factories. *Life*

20 Aug. p. 32/2 From the very concept of strategic bombing, all the developments—night, pattern, saturation, area, indiscriminate—have led straight to Hiroshima. . . *Sat. Eve. Post* 1 Sept. p. 23/1.

+STRATOVISION, *n.* [strato- (see *Am. Sp.* 20: 303) + *vision*]. See quotes. (Also attrib.)—1945 *Cleve. Plain Dealer* 10 Aug. p. 1/5 (AP) The stratovision system simply puts the antenna and transmitter in an airplane flying in lazy circles 30,000 feet above the earth, out of sight of human eyes. The short waves sent out from this air-borne antenna would blanket the earth's surface like a great inverted ice cream cone, covering an area 422 miles across. . . *Time* 20 Aug. p. 67/1 Westinghouse estimates that it would cost \$1,000-an-hour to operate each stratovision station. . . Stratovision, which is Westinghouse's name for the scheme, will probably be tested in the fall. *Balto. Sun* 2 Sept. p. 15/5 The 'stratovision' system developed jointly by the Westinghouse Electric Corporation and the Glenn L. Martin Company will place television on a sound business footing for the first time. . . *The Spiral* Oct. p. 4 STRATOVISION—Soon you will hear about television rebroadcast from planes flying 30,000 feet up.

+SUPER-DUMBO, SUPERDUMBO, *n.* See *Dumbo*; see quotes.—1945 *BN* 1 June p. 14/1 (AP) A Super-Dumbo is the name given a B-29 which accompanies a strike mission in the role of shepherd, observer, and rescuer to any Superfort which might hit trouble. *Time* 6 Aug. p. 29/3 A B-29 Superdumbo, assigned to keep radio and visual watch for airmen going down, spotted three life rafts in the water.

UNO, *n.* See quotes. (Also attrib.)—1945 *TN* 15 Nov. p. 4/4 (AP) The ideas range like this . . . let the United Nations Organization (UNO) handle it. . . *Newsweek* 26 Nov. p. 25 Even though UNO headquarters may be in San Francisco, its success or failure lies in Europe. 1946 *Lond. Spect.* 1 Feb. p. 109.

UNRRA, U. N. R. R. A., *n.* ['ʌn,rrə]. See quotes. (Also attrib.)—1943 *Lond. Spect.* 26 Nov. p. 494/2 U. N. R. R. A. at Work 1944 *Newsweek* 25 Sept. p. 36 Twice the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Conference had been held up. . . On Sept.

16 . . . at Montreal . . . the second meeting in the UNRRA came to order at last. 1945 *Time Index* 1 Jan.-25 June, inc. p. 58/2 UNRRA See United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. 1946 *BN* 6 April p. 4/5 Such a program has been urged by UNRRA officials. . .

V-BOMB, -WEAPON, *n.* General terms to describe V-1, V-2, etc. See *Am. Sp.*, 19: 307/2, 20: 146/2. (Also attrib.)—1944 *Balto. Eve. Sun* 13 Sept. p. 1/6 (AP) The Germans, after toning down their 'V' weapons threat for a few days, are now making new threats. *Time* 4 Dec. p. 30/3 Into Britain's book of reckoning went another V-bomb tragedy. . . 1945 *TN* 3 Jan. p. 2/2 Danish Patriots Blow Up V-Weapon Plant. *Harper's June* (Brief Reviews) . . . the V-bombs were falling. . .

+V-DAY, *n.* The day of final victory over the Axis powers. (Also attrib.)—1942 *Time* 16 Mar. p. 11 V-day must bring opportunity. 1944 *Current Hist.* Jan. p. 13. *Balto. Eve. Sun* 18 Sept. p. 1/2 There will be no V-day celebration in Hawaii the day Germany is defeated. 1945 *Sat. Rev. Lit.* 10 Mar. p. 5/1 (Allen Walker Read) Through the early part of the year the term *V-Day* sufficed to refer to the anticipated day of victory, but in September, at the suggestion of James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization, the newspapers began using *V-E Day* and *V-J Day*. *BN* 11 April p. 13/2 (AP) 'The war won't be over on V-Day.'

+V-E, V-E Day, VE-Day, *n.* See quotes.—1944 *Newsweek* 18 Sept. p. 72 James F. Byrnes . . . backstopped all agencies with an omnibus report to the President predicting 40 per cent cutback in war production on 'V-E,' (Victory Day in Europe, as distinguished from 'V-J,' Victory Day in Japan). 1945 *BN* 30 Mar. p. 11/1 That's a mighty important question which should be settled now, in advance of VE-Day. *Musical America* 25 April p. 11/1.

2. *Specific.* See quotes.—1945 *TN* 9 May p. 1/5 (UP) Britain observed the second day of the V-E celebration in comparative calm. . . *Time* 14 May p. 18/3 Thus, for the history books, May 8, 1945, became V-E day. *Sat. Rev. Lit.* 19 May p. 6/1 Here is the first part of the text of a radio

verse-drama by Carl Carmer which was presented over the CBS network on the evening of V-E Day, May 8, 1945. 1946 *Sat. Eve. Post* 6 April p. 114/4 Shortly after V-E Day, the division arrived in Austria. . .

+V-J DAY, *n.* See first quot.—1944 *Newsweek* 18 Sept. p. 72 (quoted under V-E). *Ibid.* 2 Oct. p. 24 Planning for America's between-victories period—V-E Day to V-J Day—centers on two main problems. 1945 *TN* 12 Aug. p. 1/1 (AP) V-J Day in Alabama will be observed as a 'day of rejoicing.'

2. *Specific.* See first quot.—1945 *Balto. Sun* 2 Sept. p. 1/1 (AP) President Truman tonight proclaimed Sunday, September 2, as V-J day. . . *Time* 10 Sept. p. 19/3 When V-J day finally came, it was an anticlimax. The war had been over for 18 days. . . 1946 *BN* 3 April p. 1/3-4 (AP) Employment, which slumped after V-J Day, is 'building up steadily. . .'

+WAR-WEARY, *n.* See quotes. (Also attrib.)—1945 *Sat. Eve. Post* 17 Mar. p. 20 Thousands of once-precious B-17's are now 'war-wearies.' Not worth salvaging, they clutter up foreign and domestic airfields. *Fortune* Aug. p. 208 . . . five war-weary Liberators, described with horror by their pilots as 'clunkers.' *Am. Sp.* Oct. p. 227/2 *War-weary.* Applied to aircraft too badly damaged to repair overseas, sent back to this country for rehabilitation or junking. 1946 *Time* 11 Feb. p. 86/3. . . Paul Mantz is no novice at making money on war-weary aircraft.

WINGMAN, WING MAN, *n.* See second quot.—1945 *Read. Dig.* May p. 43/2 Perhaps no flier loves the Zoot Suit more than the vitally important wingmen. *Sat. Eve. Post* 23 June p. 6/2 . . . a wingman . . . is the second man in a team of two, each flying a fighter plane. When you see two planes flying along, one of them just to one side of and staggered back from the leader, then you have seen a wingman. The basic job of the wingman is to protect the leader when the leader is going after a Jap or is in a tangle with one. *BN* 17 Sept. p. 7/1 His two wing men were so close behind and to either side of him that I ran between them with no shots traded.

MISCELLANY

LOUISE POUND

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'SKRIMAGES RIGHT'

All of us mispronounce words, particularly words which are relatively unfamiliar. But what might be called 'trade mispronunciations' are rare. For a layman discussing medicine to mispronounce recondite medical terms is as natural as it is forgivable. For a surgeon to err would be surprising. So too when a lawyer converses of legal nomenclature or an engineer of construction. One great group of professional men, nevertheless, are particularly prone to the mispronunciation of technical terms within their own field.

This group is the army. As soon as a young man is inducted into the military service he is given a simply written *Soldiers' Handbook* which takes him step by step through all the activities and trade vocabulary of the military profession. In most cases he slings the *Handbook* into the bottom of his duffel bag, where it is ignored for months. Some time later, in the throes of combat, he empties all non-essential weight, including the *Handbook*, from his duffel bag. That the average non-professional soldier mispronounces terms of the military trade is only normal.

But I refer to that smaller group of Regular Army men, career soldiers, trained during many years of peace in all the weapons of war, the intricacies of the parade ground,

and the usual lexicon of scientific military terminology. Their mispronunciations of such terms are very often both startling and puzzling.

The first day I entered the army I encountered this phenomenon. A weather-beaten Old Army corporal told the group of inductees, 'You are destined to go to Fort Bliss.' It sounded all right at first; perhaps just an ideal extension of 'destined.' But what he meant was 'designated.' He held the orders so designating in his hand.

As my army life expanded, I began to compile a list of such 'trade mispronunciations.' The intention was scholarly, not ironic. I discovered first of all that many errors were malapropisms. Officers were liable to them as well, but the Regular Army enlisted man was usually subject to a few more. Typical of this confusion of terms, half a mispronunciation of the true word, half a transfer of vocabulary, was the famous remark of a drill sergeant. For years he had conned his *Handbook*; he had won advancement; he was a hard-bitten, thoroughly competent instructor. Yet every time he wanted his squad to defile right (or left)—'Skirmishes Right' is the command—he shouted 'Skrimages Right! Skrimages Left!' The squad skrimaged.

Whether the sergeant confounded skirmishes with football scrimmages is doubtful. He thought in

truth that the correct word was pronounced 'skrimages' and he said it. Less and greater confusion was prevalent. For months a young corporal had lectured on gas drill; for months he continued to refer to 'incenduary gas.' The First Sergeant daily prepared a roster to assign sundry soldiers to sundry duties; daily at reveille he warned all men to examine the 'roaster.'

So large and complicated is the military machine, it is small wonder that a soldier is nonplussed by the particular language of a neighboring unit or a specialized weapon. Yet that reasoning cannot explain the guard sergeant who appointed his 'centuries' nightly to their post. It does not meet the case either of the instructor in bayonet who advised us about the 'stacking shrivel' (alluding to the stacking swivel). An instructor in chemical warfare regularly spoke of arsenical compounds as if they were 'arson-nickel' compounds; the sergeant who taught us the mechanics of the machine-gun called the breech of the gun the 'britch'—about the only time breech is *not* pronounced britch. The officer recounting army organization joined the generality of men in speaking of the mounted 'calvary'; the sergeant instructor in military courtesy referred to the 'catories' of rank—categories, beyond question. The expert on camouflage sent us out on a 'scouting exposition,' but he meant expedition. And the officer who taught aircraft recognition described the 'Fulk Wolf' to us; he even carefully spelled Focke Wulf that way.

Lack of education afflicted a number of these men, of course. To remonstrate against mispronunciations or confused terminology developing from this handicap is unjust. Perhaps some such slightly taught background prompted one lecturer to advise us not to let lack of promotion 'pry' on our minds; and another to create 'misabused' out of 'abused' plus 'mistreated.' 'Preparatory commands' were regularly given. The medical orderly inquired whether we were 'emergic' cases. By long tradition, too, drill language is a speech of its own. The loud voice that cries 'Red gap, front' is no novelty. All arms snap down just as if it had said 'Ready, front.'

As my own army career began, so did it end. On the very last day there was another mispronunciation. The discharge papers were being announced. The officer who steadily and uncomplainingly had succeeded with Polish, Czech, Italian, and Greek names stumbled over an ordinary two-syllabled name. It was mine. You may be sure, nonetheless, that I understood it perfectly.

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A MISCELLANY OF NEOLOGISMS

None of the following words, as used here, is listed in *The Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia* (1913), the *New English Dictionary* (1888-1933), *Funk and Wagnalls' New Standard Dictionary* (1934), the *Dictionary of American English* (1938-1944), or *Webster's New Interna-*

tional Dictionary (1945). I have not attempted to find earliest occurrences. And I have supplied definitions only where they seemed advisable.

ANTI-JACOBITE, *n.* and *adj.* (See *Jacobite*, below.) 'Van Wyck Brooks succeeded Brownell as the leader of the anti-Jacobite faction . . .' *New Republic*, Feb. 5, 1945, p. 177, col. 1. 'Mr. Matthiessen has not so much answered the arguments of the anti-Jacobites as he has introduced totally different arguments.' *Ibid.*, p. 178, col. 1. 'The anti-Jacobites are right to say that James's later work shows the bad results of exile and expatriation . . .' *Ibid.*, p. 178, col. 2.

BLABOTEUR, *n.* Title of review of movie, 'Saboteur,' *ibid.*, May 18, 1942, p. 669, col. 2. Reviewer says: 'In "Saboteur" they talk things over.'

BLUENOSING, *vbl. sb.* 'This bluenosing along the paths of literature, it should be pointed out, is based on a Taft-supported amendment to the Soldiers Vote Act, passed by Congress last March, which prohibits distribution by the Army of any matter "containing political argument or political propaganda of any kind designed or calculated to affect the result of any election . . ."' *PM*, July 16, 1944, p. 2, col. 1. 'The Senator himself has been forced to deny that his bluenosing was directed at such books as Beard's and has publicly charged that the Army was overstepping the bounds of the statute in banning them.' *Ibid.*, cols. 2-3.

CHAIN-SMOKE, *v.t.* ' . . . he chain-smoked American cigarettes . . .' *Ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1946, p. m5, col. 4.

CHAMPAGNE, *v.t.* 'Miss Truman champagned.' *Ibid.*, Dec. 2, 1945, p. m12.

CHILDRENEED, *adj.* 'What answer can the villagers make to a lady who is so amusing, clever, observant, broad-minded, shrewd, demure, Bohemian, happily-married, triply-childreneed, public-spirited and at all times such a lady?' *New Statesman and Nation*, Nov. 4, 1939, p. 648, col. 1.

CLUBMOBILER, *n.* 'Red Cross club-mobilers introduce French youngsters to

coffee and doughnuts.' *New York Times Magazine*, Feb. 25, 1945, p. 11.

COLORPHOBE, *n.* 'If it were not tragic, the warped and distorted outlook of white colorphobes toward their colored brethren would provide the material for cynical comedy and devastating satire [*sic*].' *New Republic*, Jan. 10, 1944, p. 53, col. 2. 'But coming from a black man, it is different; or so these colorphobes fancy.' *Ibid.*, p. 54, col. 1.

COMPARATISM, *n.* Comparative literature. 'Many easy guesses can be made if we ask for the reasons for the decline of comparatism in our universities. . . . This facile interpretation of comparatism has proved to be truly disastrous . . .' *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, Summer, 1945, p. 209.

COMPARATIST, *n.* A student of comparative literature. 'Among the courses offered or planned at North Carolina some which would best fit the needs of a young comparatist are as follows: . . . After having condemned survey courses and translation courses as not being on the level of serious comparative work, it seems necessary to point to various topics, angles, and approaches which deserve to be investigated by the comparatist.' *Ibid.*, p. 213. 'When studying influences, it is not only the emitters and the receivers, but particularly also the transmitters and translators who assume a new and great importance for the comparatist.' *Ibid.*, p. 214. The word also occurs *ibid.*, pp. 217, 218 (twice), and 219.

COPYREAD, *v.t.* 'It is therefore necessary that the student learn so thoroughly that he will not forget within a few weeks or months how to approach the task of writing, complete it in spite of the distractions which writers normally encounter, and copyread what he has written.' T. C. Pollock and others, *The English Language in American Education* (New York, 1945), p. 14. ' . . . the student who plans to be a secretary should be sure to develop the ability to spell and punctuate correctly and to copyread what he has written.' *Ibid.*, p. 24.

CROSS-FERTILITY, *n.* 'If this book is efficient in arrangement and cross-fertility,

it is due to her indexophile habits.' Christopher Morley, 'Preface [dated May 22, 1937] to the Eleventh Edition,' *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*, ed. Christopher Morley and L. D. Everett (Boston: Little Brown & Company, 1937), p. xvi.

CURE-NOTHING, *adj.* 'Beware the Cure-Nothing "Cure-Alls"! ' *PM*, April 28, 1944, p. 7, headline.

DACKEL, *n.* A dachshund. 'She strongly resented it if I paid any attention to the other dackels . . . She insisted on sleeping in my bed, not at the foot of it as a well-behaved dackel ordinarily does, but to my great inconvenience in the middle . . . ' W. S. Maugham, *Strictly Personal* (New York, 1941), p. 61. ' . . . Erda, my dackel, hadn't noticed that anything unusual was afoot.' *Ibid.*, p. 152.¹

DEWBATHE, *v.i.* ' . . . Evelyn Ankers, film actress, gets up each dawn in Hollywood and dewbathes on her lawn, rubbing the stuff on her eyelids, brow and temples, rolling in it for five minutes.' *PM*, Feb. 22, 1945, p. 8, cols. 3-4, under photograph.

ECLAIRCISSE, *v.t.* ' . . . Nabokov on Gogol is Dunninger eclaircissizing the *modae operandi* of Houdini.' *New Republic*, Sept. 25, 1944, p. 378, col. 2.

FABIANIZE, *v.t.* 'But the moral is that not until it ceases to be extraordinary and becomes typical in English political society will it be possible to Fabianize England any farther than the Soviet has been forced to Fabianize Russia . . . ' *Times Literary Supplement*, Oct. 20, 1945, p. 494, col. 1.

FINE-TOOTH COMB, *v.t.* 'Scientists have gone to fine-tooth comb the Urals and mid-Asia for new raw materials and power resources needed by evacuated industries.' *New Republic*, Dec. 28, 1942, p. 854, col. 1.

GASOLINE-JELL, *adj.* Of jellied gasoline. ' . . . the use of the fearsome gasoline-jell M-69 incendiary in such large clusters can do nothing less than devastate a large area.' *Nation*, March 24, 1945, p. 318, col. 1.

GHETTO, *v.t.* 'Northern Negroes who had enjoyed relative equality at home found themselves ghettoed in segregated

quarters of Southern camps . . . ' *PM*, Nov. 6, 1944, p. 11, col. 1.

GOGOLATOR, *n.* 'All Gogolators know of the Heresy of Kulish, who criticized the Ukrainian tales of Gogol . . . ' *New Republic*, Sept. 25, 1944, p. 376, col. 2.

GOLDLY, *adv.* 'The sun shone goldly upon them.' W. S. Maugham, *The Razor's Edge* (New York, 1944), p. 204.¹

HAMLET, *v.t.* ' . . . the moment he becomes undecided, well-meaning, and guilty, he is Hamleted out of service as a writer . . . ' *Harper's Magazine*, July, 1945, p. 86, col. 1.

HELTER-SKELETON, *n.* ' . . . in the center of a vacant lot some boys were assembling the framework of a rude shelter, their whole mind and skill concentrated in the rather inauspicious helter-skeleton of studs and rafters.' *Ibid.*, August, 1939, p. 330, col. 1. The essay in which the word occurs was written in June, 1939; see E. B. White, *One Man's Meat* (New York and London, 1942), prefatory 'Note' and p. 98.

HOME-FIRE-BURNING, *adj.* 'The outcome of the conflicts might ultimately touch the lives of millions of home-fire-burning civilians . . . ' *PM*, June 11, 1944, p. 2, col. 1.

HOUSEPAINT, *v.i.* 'Right now I'm housepainting but I'd like to get a civil service job . . . ' *Ibid.*, Dec. 2, 1945, p. m2, col. 2.

INDIRECT, *v.t.* ' . . . doggerel anecdotes directed (or rather, indirected) against the New Deal . . . ' *New Republic*, Sept. 11, 1944, p. 312, col. 2.

JACOBITE, *n.* A partisan of Henry James. 'It is a debate that has continued for more than forty years, even though William Dean Howells tried hard to end it, in 1903, when he wrote his dialogue on "Mr. Henry James's Later Work"; he spoke of course for the devoted Jacobites.' *Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1945, p. 177, col. 1.

JACOBITE, *adj.* Pertaining to Henry James. '"Henry James: The Major Phase," by F. O. Matthiessen, might be approached as merely another episode in these Jacobite wars . . . ' *Ibid.*

MECANOMAN, *n.* 'Hitler's equivalent

of Lenin's transformation of the Russian *mujik* into the Soviet mechanic was a transformation of the German man into a Nazi mecanoman.' *Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1945, p. 279, col. 2. 'An emotional primitive, the Nazi mecanoman had to have an equivalent of the ancient tribal magical animism of nature. . . . they dehumanized and mechanized the Germans into mecanomen.' *Ibid.*, p. 280, col. 1. 'If free men could be induced to live and feel in patterns, what limits are there to the patterns which can be imposed on mecanomen? . . . In the Nazi mecanoman, there was a button he himself could not press for every thought or feeling; a switch for every action, even a plug to stop feeling, thought or action. The Nazi mecanoman had the "soul" of a primitive, the instincts of a psychopath, the conditioned psychological reflexes in caricatured perfection of the mass man, all operating in the structural framework of an assembly-line mechanical product. . . . The Nazi mecanoman, while still a problem, is no longer a danger: a mass product, he cannot function outside a mass.' *Ibid.*, col. 2.

MOOD, *v.t.* 'Suppose the characters [in a movie] are Frenchmen—or Russians or Spaniards, say—set off against a background which meticulously moods their native land: the contrast of English dialogue with the visual illusion throws a jolt.' *New York Times*, July 30, 1944, sec. 2, p. 1, col. 7.

NON-INTERVENE, *v.t.* 'I say this not because of our moral obligation—although such exists—towards 25,000,000 Spaniards whom we non-intervened into fascist slavery.' *PM*, Nov. 19, 1944, p. 2, col. 1.

NUMB, *v.i.* 'Pain throbbed in his head and the right side of his face numbed.' Richard Wright, *Native Son* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1940), p. 265.

OPINIONEER, *n.* 'Through Close, Kemper is a remote-control opinioneer.' *PM*, July 30, 1944, p. 3, col. 3.

RABBINAGE, *n.* 'But here are the best figures available as I obtained them yesterday at the chief rabbinate in Paris.' *Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1944, p. 20, col. 1.

R-DAY, *n.* 'Today is R-Day, the day for the official start of redeployment.' *Ibid.*, May 13, 1945, p. 5, col. 5.

RELIGIFIED, *adj.* 'The myths, the mysticism, the fanaticism, the goals were a tribalized, a religified deformation of fascism.' *New Republic*, Sept. 3, 1945, p. 278, col. 2.

STEMMATOLOGY, *n.* 'In the comparison of variant texts, and in what may be called stemmatology, the veterans—notably Dr. Greg—and some of their apt pupils—notably Mr. Peter Alexander—have done brilliant work.' N. C. Smith, ed., *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, vol. XXVII, 1941 (Oxford, 1942), p. 43.

STREAMLINE, *v.i.* 'Scads of pretty girls streamline smartly in and out of this room.' *PM*, Mar. 18, 1945, p. m3, box, col. 1.

SUBWAY, *v.i.* ' . . . we subways to Brooklyn . . . ' *Ibid.*, April 15, 1945, p. m4, col. 2.

SURREALIZE, *v.i.* 'Dali daubing a watch face on a fried egg: His novel also surrealizes.' *Newsweek*, June 12, 1944, p. 88, under photograph.

TEST FLY, *v.t.* 'He then test flew these planes . . . ' *New York Times*, Nov. 18, 1945, sec. 1, p. 4, col. 1.

TOUCHDOWN, *n.* 'We stiffened ourselves for the jolt of the touchdown, and lifted our feet clear of the floor, in case something might rip through. The touchdown itself was perfect.' *PM*, June 11, 1944, p. 7, col. 1. A BBC correspondent reporting to London what *PM* describes as 'Landing in France in a glider.'

WIND-STORMED, *adj.* ' . . . her imagination brooded . . . over the lonely, wind-stormed old farmhouse that stood on the heights above Haworth's grey streets . . . ' Rose Macaulay, in Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights* (New York, Modern Library, n.d.), p. vi.

WOLF-WOLF, *adj.* ' . . . I had repeatedly heard the wolf-wolf cry of socialized medicine, but nothing came of it.' *New Republic*, May 14, 1945, p. 670, col. 1.

WOMANPOWER, *n.* 'This special lowered rate calls for special handling by our

Subscription Staff, now working with a minimum of womanpower.' Printed card from *Fortune*, received Nov., 1944.

WORST-SELLER, *n.* 'His name enjoyed a consideration denied to his books, since all the great scientists subscribed to his series of worst-sellers . . .' H. V. Routh, *Towards the Twentieth Century* (New York, and Cambridge, England: The Macmillan Company, 1937), pp. 250-251.

X-OUT, *v.t.* 'He seemed to write clean copy, didn't erase or x-out words.' *PM*, May 13, 1945, p. m12.

JOSEPH PRESCOTT

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AFFIRMATIVE 'ANY MORE'

IN ENGLAND

The use of *any more* in an affirmative sentence has been reported in *American Speech* from Illinois, Iowa, Maryland, Michigan, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, West Virginia and Ontario.¹ I first noticed it in Pennsylvania about twenty years ago, and jotted it down in Connecticut in 1928 in the sentence: 'He's a bad boy any more,' i.e., 'he's no longer behaving as well as he was a short time ago.' A sentence reported by J. H. Wofford from West Virginia in Kemp Malone's original note on the subject (*American Speech* 6 [1931]: 460) makes the origin of the idiom very clear. 'My customers have to see me by appointment any more' is an affirmative way of saying 'My customers can't see me any more without an appointment.'

I had never noticed this use of *any more* in books written by Englishmen until I came across it in D. H. Lawrence's *Women in Love*,

originally published in 1920. The passage, from Chapter 13 entitled 'Mino,' is as follows:

'We have all suffered so much,' he [Birkin] mocked, ironically.

She [Ursula Brangwen] looked up at him and a flash of wild gaiety went over her face, a strange flash of yellow light coming from her eyes.

'Haven't we!' she cried, in a high, reckless cry. 'It is almost absurd, isn't it?'

'Quite absurd,' he said. 'Suffering bores me, any more.' [I.e., suffering doesn't interest me any more.]

'So it does.'

I cite this from the American edition published by Thomas Seltzer, N.Y., 1922, p. 174, but it is the same in the fourth impression of the London edition, Martin Secker, 1925. *Women in Love* (1920) was written before Lawrence came to America in September, 1922. I have no doubt that Birkin's *any more* reflects an idiom familiar to Lawrence in England, perhaps in dialect. The phrase sounds a little strange in Birkin's speech here, and it may be a reminiscence of the colliers' talk that Lawrence knew so well and could reproduce so skillfully. On the other hand the affirmative *any more* may be creeping into colloquial speech of a higher level in England, as it has in this country.

ROBERT J. MENNER

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'GIVE HIM JESSE'

The expression *give him Jesse* (*Jessie*, *Jessy*, sometimes capitalized, sometimes not) is entered in various

1. See 6: 460; 7: 233-6; 11: 63; 14: 304; 16: 18-9; 18: 141, 152; 19: 39, 204.

dictionaries and glossaries. It appears, for instance, in the older *Century Dictionary and Encyclopedia* (1911, first edition, 1889), *Webster's New International* (1935), R. H. Thornton's *American Glossary*, and the *American Thesaurus of Slang*. The word *Jesse* is usually defined as meaning a scolding, a beating, punishment. The *Century Dictionary* comments that *give him Jesse* is 'Apparently of local origin, with some original reference to some one named Jesse or Jessie.' It labels the saying 'Slang.U.S.' Often the expression runs *give him particular Jesse*, i.e., punish him severely, give him aggravated Jesse. R. H. Thornton, followed by the DAE, cites from the *Nauvoo Neighbor* (April 17, 1844), 'Lo, the Saints, the Mormons. . . . When Missouri gave them jesse.' His latest citation is from A. H. Stephens's *Diary* (1865, 1910, p. 518), 'While I thought I was giving you Jesse on hearts, you were giving me fits on spades.' The *Yale Literary Magazine* (xiv, 1848, p. 95) punned:

Now, such performances as this
Don't suit your uncle Siah,
And if you doesn't print the next
He'll give you *Jesseniah*.

H. L. Mencken's *Supplement One* (1945) comments (p. 664): 'Thornton and the DAE indicate that *Jesse*, as in *give him Jesse*, is a euphemism for *hell*. It has had, from time to time, many congeners, now mainly obsolete, e.g., *Zachy*, *Moses*, *Israel*, *Peter*, and *saltpetre*. Sometimes it is preceded by *particu-*

lar, as is *hell* itself. Its origin is unknown.'

It is probable that the saying is not an Americanism but a legacy from older English usage; and, though *Webster's* and the *Century* and other works enter the meaning scolding first, I think punishment, physical punishment, the primary meaning. A suggestion of origin that seems nearly certain appears to have been overlooked. It was made by N. S. Shaler¹ in the 'Waste-Basket of Words' which was run for a few issues in the *Journal of American Folklore*. In the first volume (1888, p. 78), Mr. Shaler mentioned the expression among other old New England words and phrases. He wrote:

When two American boys are fighting together and a crowd is watching the mill, a spectator will often encourage one of the contestants by crying, 'Give him jessy.' In my own boyhood the expression was too familiar to seem worthy of note. Hearing it after many years, it seemed a fit subject for inquiry. It appears certain that the phrase is a remnant of the days when the language of falconry was as familiar among youths as that of horse-racing now is. The *jess* was a thong by which the bird was attached to the wrist, and when it retrieved badly it appears to have been the custom to punish it by application of the thong. It is not unlikely that this convenient bit of leather may also have been used from time to time in arguments with boys. At any rate, the phrase is heard through all parts of the United States. I have not been able to find whether it exists at all in England. I think it likely to have died out there, for several of my acquaintances bred in England do not remember to have heard it.

One of Thornton's citations from

1. Distinguished paleontologist and geologist (1841-1906) at Harvard University.

1847, found in *Streaks of Squatter Life* (p. 33), well illustrates Shaler's definition: 'You've slashed the hide off 'er that feller in the lower town, touched his raw, and rumbled his feathers—that's the way to *give him jessy*.'

The word *jess* (strictly *jesses* were the straps round a hawk's legs, with rings attached to which the falconer's leash was fastened) was long well known. Marlowe wrote in *Edward II* (II, ii), '... soar ye never so high, I have jesses that will pull you down.' Tennyson used *jess* in *Merlin*, Longfellow in *Hyperion*. The DAE notes that Jessie was the name of the wife of General John C. Fremont, and the old saying was used as a campaign cry when he became a candidate for the presidency in 1856.

Thornton's latest citation for *give him Jesse* is from 1865, and the DAE's from 1885. In February, 1946, I heard the expression used in a game of bridge by a player from Sidney, Nebraska, when her partner was ruffing an opponent's suit. Since then I have found several other Nebraskans who know and sometimes employ it.

LOUISE POUND

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G I WORDS FROM THE SEPARATION CENTER AND PROCTOLOGY WARD

Long after the War and the Peace will have been won, notes and articles and books will continue to be written on words and phrases and slang which grew out of or were influenced by the world conflict. The present brief list is made up of terms that originated in Separation

Centers, and at least one of the phrases has already found wide and general usage; my second group, while neither significant nor long-lasting, includes words that were in more or less general use in the Proctology Ward of the Fort Benning (Georgia) Regional Hospital when I was there in the latter months of 1945.

First, the 'discharge' words:

RUPTURED DUCK. Probably the most popular term—certainly the most colorful—for the U. S. Army and Navy's lapel button (for civilian clothes) and pocket insignia (for GI uniform), identifying the wearer as an honorably discharged veteran. The 'ruptured' must have come from the fact that one wing of the eagle is underneath and extends beyond the circular design of the button. Where or when the phrase originated I do not know, but it was not heard in January, 1945, when I was at Fort Dix, New Jersey, at that time one of the few and the most important of the Separation Centers. By October, 1945, demobilization was in full swing when I reached Camp Sibert, Alabama, and 'ruptured duck' was in universal use at practically every discharge point in the country. I heard the term in several places in the South, in New York, in Chicago, and on the West Coast, not only in and around Army posts, but in nearby cities as well.

BIRD OF PARADISE. Another phrase for the discharge emblem. It was first seen in Lt. Dave Breger's syndicated cartoon 'Private Breger' (later called 'Private Citizen Breger') on October 22, 1945, when his comic character got his discharge.

HOMING PIGEON. A third term for the same insignia, but not used as widely as 'ruptured duck.' I have heard more sailors use it than soldiers.

DUCK DAY. The day on which the GI receives his discharge papers. I heard it only at Camp Sibert, Alabama, but it might conceivably have been used elsewhere.

The 'proctology' words follow:

SIX O'CLOCK JUMP. An enema given at 6 o'clock on the evening preceding the operation.

COCKTAIL HOUR. The time for taking mineral oil or some other mild laxative.

LINE-UP. The line of patients who file through the Examination Room every morning to have their operations or wounds (hemorrhoids or pilonidal cysts) examined or treated.

FINGER (or) STICK. Indicates the manner of treatment by the doctor for those in the 'line-up.' The answer to the question 'Did you get the "finger" or the "stick" this morning?' would reveal whether the patient had his wound prodded or cleaned by the doctor's rubber-gloved and vaselined finger, or by a thin six-inch long stick, the tip of which is covered by disinfectant-soaked cotton.

T-STRING. A variation of the G-string, worn by patients to keep in place the gauze pieces or pad which covers the wound or operation; it is made by a long piece of string or gauze tied once around the waist with the loose end dropped down behind, pulled up through the crotch, and tied in front.

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'VALCUM CLEAN'

Several years ago a filling station on the Dallas highway, and within the city limits of Austin, displayed prominently for several weeks a painted sign offering as one of its services

VALCUM CLEAN

50¢

This naive spelling, and analogous in some respects to that which has long been standard in *delight*, has fascinated me for the complex of factors which shaped it.

Vacuum, trisyllabic in standard

speech, has for many become dissyllabic, partly through a normal tendency in polysyllables with weak middle and terminal syllables to lose one or more of their unstressed elements. This is particularly true when in the weak syllables an element ending in a vowel is followed immediately by a vowel of the next syllable, as may be seen in [juʒəl] beside [juʒjuəl] for *usual* and in [mətɹəl], at least in these parts, for [mətɹiəl], *material*. Thus, even in cultivated speech, beside the standard [vækjuəm] there exists a colloquial form [vækjum], with the [ə] of the third syllable absorbed in the vowel of the second. But there is a competing reduced form, on lower levels of usage, also dissyllabic, showing reduction of the whole vowel complex [juə] to [ə]: [vækəm]. This is aided perhaps by struggles in pronouncing the written form, whose two *u*'s in immediate juxtaposition cause some uncertainty among the semi-educated: at any rate, the final *-uum* of *vacuum* comes out [kəm].

The naive spelling *valcum* suggests at once *talcum*, at any rate as an eye-rhyme. Talcum, through its general household use, particularly in the feminine world, is, in fact, much more commonly current on the general level than is *vacuum*, which still is somewhat remote, and learned, at least on the naive level. *Talcum* as a written symbol is very common, for does it not appear on every box of talcum powder, and does not a box of talcum powder stand on every bureau or dressing table, in every bedroom, regardless

of whether there is a vacuum cleaner in the house? Furthermore, on the naive level *talcum* is usually pronounced [tækəm], showing that general loss of *l* before *k* which is common in English. When this particular sign-painter, therefore, was faced with the necessity of finding symbols for the word *vacuum*, which for him had the sound complex [vækəm], there flashed to the surface of his consciousness, not the remote *v-a-c-u-u-m* but the, to him, more familiar elements in *talcum*; hence, *valcum*.

Of interest, too, is the compound *valcum clean*, which, as used on this sign, I take to be a noun, and parallel to *wash*, and which, like *wash*, can function as verb as well as noun: thus, either a *vacuum clean* 50¢, or to *vacuum clean* (the car), 50¢. The compound *vacuum cleaner*, through a back formation, and under the pattern of the simplex *clean* beside the compound *cleaner*, has thus given both a noun and a verb, *vacuum clean*.

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'LAFAYETTE'

Namesakes of the Marquis de Lafayette have been noticed before in *American Speech* (Dec. 1941, p. 312; Dec. 1942, p. 225). The funeral of still another was recently announced by the Farmville, Virginia, *Herald*.

Funeral services were held Sunday afternoon from Doyme Funeral Home for DeMarkous LaFayette Traylor, Jr., 79, who died on Thursday night, February 22, after a few days illness.

Mr. Traylor was born February 27, 1867,

at Concord, N.C., the son of DeMarkous LaFayette Traylor and his wife, Lucy Ann Nunnally Traylor. With his family he moved to Farmville when he was only 18 months old, and was reared here.

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'THE GREAT HORN SPOON'

In earlier issues of *American Speech* (III, August, 1928, p. 459; IV, February, 1929, pp. 255-256, and August, pp. 499-500) space was devoted to the oath or saying 'By the great horn spoon,' which Lowell used in the *Biglow Papers* and which is still met with here and there. It is conceded to be an Americanism, but its origin remains unknown. If it is a Western Americanism, the following passage from Stanley Vestal's *The Missouri* (1945) may have relevancy. It appears on page 296.

They [mountain sheep] ran up cliffs like monkeys and marched across the face of steep bluffs like flies. Hunters were fond of their flesh and their skins, and the Indians loved to make spoons of their great curving horns. In fact, in some Indian languages the name given the animal is 'spoon-horn.' Spoons made of the horns of the rams are often beautiful shapely things, yellow, clouded like jade, or translucent—and quite capacious too, holding a quart or more. They are, in fact, ladles, and serve the purpose of a cup or bowl.

When chasing bighorns over the rugged country, the hunter, gasping after his climb, might see the animal apparently leap into space from the edge of the cliff.

L. P.

IRRADIATING SUFFIXES

'Christmas *Futurama*,' a parade of types of stationery for sale, headed a department-store advertise-

ment in December, 1945. 'Spring Shoe-Rama' headed pictures of types of shoes on display in a J. C. Penney Company advertisement early in January, 1946. Obviously *Futurama* and *Shoe-Rama* extend the suffix of *panorama*, *diorama*, etc.

A 'Christmas *Musicade*' was presented over the Columbia network on Christmas Day, 1945. It included a dramatic reading, light opera, and musical comedy, favorite songs, and orchestral numbers. *Musicade*, like *motorcade*, which appeared some time ago, is of course built on the pattern of *cavalcade*.

'*Skimobile* climbs mountains. . . . A skimobile ascends Mount Cranmore near North Conway, N.H., taking skiers to the top of a 2,052 foot rundown' is the legend under a newspaper photograph of January 8, 1946. 'Bookmobiles,' 'clubmobiles,' and 'snowmobiles' have already followed the automobile.

Telemobiles were described in *Sidelights of Industry* (September 15, 1940), a publication of the American Petroleum Institute of New York City. Many have probably seen telemobiles in action on city streets without knowing what they were. They are busses that help telephones get around. When sirens scream and ambulances tear to emergent hot spots, these new streamlined busses, equipped with soundproof telephone booths, an operator, and a mechanical crew, head the procession. Police, fire, and newspaper men put through emergency calls on these roving switchboards through a hook-up by

underground cables or overhead wires with the regular system. Power plants function on the roof.

Another live suffix is *-genic*. Harry Conover in *Televiser*, 1 (No. 2, 1945), a publication of the Television Workshop, New York City, is the author of an article entitled 'Are You Videogenic?' Mr. Conover is one of the country's best known model agents. He explained *videogenic* as follows:

'Photogenic' has become commonly accepted as meaning that the subject is attractive in photographs. Since 'video' is one of the terms used to represent 'television,' 'videogenic' has been similarly adopted as meaning the subject is attractive to television.

Telegenic is a slightly older term. It was used in *Newsweek* (April 3, 1944, p. 82): 'Will they [actresses] be *telegenic* as well as photogenic in the movie-radio showdown?'

'Are You Phonogenic?' is an article in *The Office Economist* (June, 1945, p. 10). A 'Telephone Personality Self-Rating Chart' is given on page 11 (answers on page 14), for the reader to determine whether he or she is phonogenic.

VERBAL NOVELTIES

'Pretty Healthy Feet Can Best Be Achieved by Simple *Foot-Nastics* and Daily Massage,' according to Sally Young in *The American Weekly* (December 9, 1945), the magazine section of the Chicago *Herald-American*.

'The city *SnoGo* handles snow speedily. . . . This new snow remover was purchased from government surplus stores. . . . It more

than lived up to expectations.' Lincoln (Nebraska) *State Journal*, December 19, 1945.

Steakeasies are said to have sprung up in New York City during the meat shortage, wrote Jack Lait in a newspaper column, August 27, 1945. Another name given them was *meat-cheat-eateries*.

Briefalog is a convenient new term. *Business Week* (October 21, 1944, p. 24) has: 'This week, Defense Plant Corporation's (D.P.C.) parent, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, published a 153-page "briefalog," advance listing of 879 projects that it expects to put up for sale.'

THE HAT, THE VOICE, ETC.

The following names testify to one of the less flamboyant language whims of today. They all illustrate also the rhetorical figure of the part for the whole.

THE FACE (the movie actress, Anita Colby). Richmond (Va.) *News Leader*, Jan. 18, 1946, p. 21, col. 2: 'Hollywood, Jan. 18.—(AP)—... Their leader [i.e. the leader of a group of glamor-girl press-agents touring the country and advertising a certain movie], Anita Colby, also known as "The Face" because hers is so singular, will handle the Eastern Atlantic and Southern States.'

THE FEET (the movie dancer, Gene Kelly). Nonce usage. See *The Voice*, 1.

THE GRIN (Sergeant Robert Kirk). Richmond *News Leader*, Oct. 10, 1945, p. 8, col. 3: 'Kansas City, Oct. 10. —(AP)—Sergeant Robert M. Kirk, home from the European theatre of operations, said that on the eve of D-day he became "The Grin." [The account then tells how General Eisenhower, seeing the man's teeth shining against his blackened face, told him that he had better keep his mouth shut if he wanted to get through the coming attack

alive.] From that time on, Kirk was known as 'The Grin.'

THE HAT (Mayor LaGuardia of New York City). Richmond *News Leader*, Oct. 20, 1945, p. 1, cols. 6-7 (under an AP photo): "'The Hat" Becomes "The Suit"—Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia. . . , fondly known as "The Hat," becomes "The Suit," as Lt. John Compton, of the 299th Army Ground Force Band, which served three years in the Pacific, helps the Mayor into a jungle suit after making him a jungleer at City Hall, New York.' (See also *Life*, vol. 20, no. 2, p. 32, Jan. 14, 1946.)

THE LEER (the movie actor, Humphrey Bogart). Richmond *Times Dispatch*, May 23, 1945, p. 8, col. 2 (title of an editorial on the marriage of Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall, after a stormy courtship): "'The Look" Weds "The Leer."'

THE LEG (Swedish runner, Gunder Haegg). Baltimore *Sun*, Mar. 5, 1945, p. 10-0, col. 3: 'New York, March 4 (AP)—Gunder (The Leg) Haegg finished last in the Louis Zamperini mile. . . .'

THE LOOK (the movie actress, Lauren Bacall). See *The Leer*.

THE NOSE (the comedian, Jimmy Durante). Baltimore *Sun*, Feb. 22, 1945, p. 8, col. 1 (from a review of a movie): 'There is comedy by Jimmy Durante. . . Margaret O'Brien provides juvenile interest as the little girl who carries on a solemn, and not too humorous, feud with The Nose.'

THE STOMACH (Pfc. Chester Salvatori). Baltimore *Sun*, July 10, 1945, p. 9-0, cols. 4-6 (under two AP wirephotos): 'Danger—"Stomach" At Work—Pfc. Chester (The Stomach) Salvatori, who lost 19 pounds on a two-man diet while under observation by Army doctors, . . . relaxes after a seven-man meal. . .'

THE SUIT. Nonce usage. See *The Hat*.

THE VOICE, 1 (the radio crooner, Frank Sinatra). Baltimore *Sun*, Aug. 30, 1945, p. 10-0, col. 1 (from a review of a movie): 'In connection with the opening of "Anchors Aweigh" today, the Century Theater will try something new. A "stenographers' morning show" will be given at 6 A. M. with coffee and doughnuts served with the picture. How the girls are going to keep their minds on their jobs after two hours

of The Voice and The Feet (as we may call Mr. Kelly) is up to their bosses.'

THE VOICE, 2 (Senator Theodore G. Bilbo). *Baltimore Sun*, June 29, 1945, p. 5-o, col. 4: 'Washington, June 28 (AP)—Theodore G. (The Voice) Bilbo, of Poplarville, Miss., strengthened his claim today as the talkingest man in the United States Senate.'

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'GI OFFICER'

In *American Speech*, April, 1945, Mr. A. R. Dunlap records a use of 'GI' in the sentence, 'What this place needs more than anything else is a few good GI officers' (p.

147, n. 3). He interprets this use of 'GI' as a 'reference . . . , of course, to officers who have come up through the ranks.' While this meaning of 'GI officer' may have existed, I should like to point out that the far more common application of the term is to an officer who is a strict disciplinarian, devoted to regulation procedures and to spit and polish. A somewhat similar usage is found in 'to GI the barracks,' i.e., to give the building a thorough cleaning, as for a rigid inspection.

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